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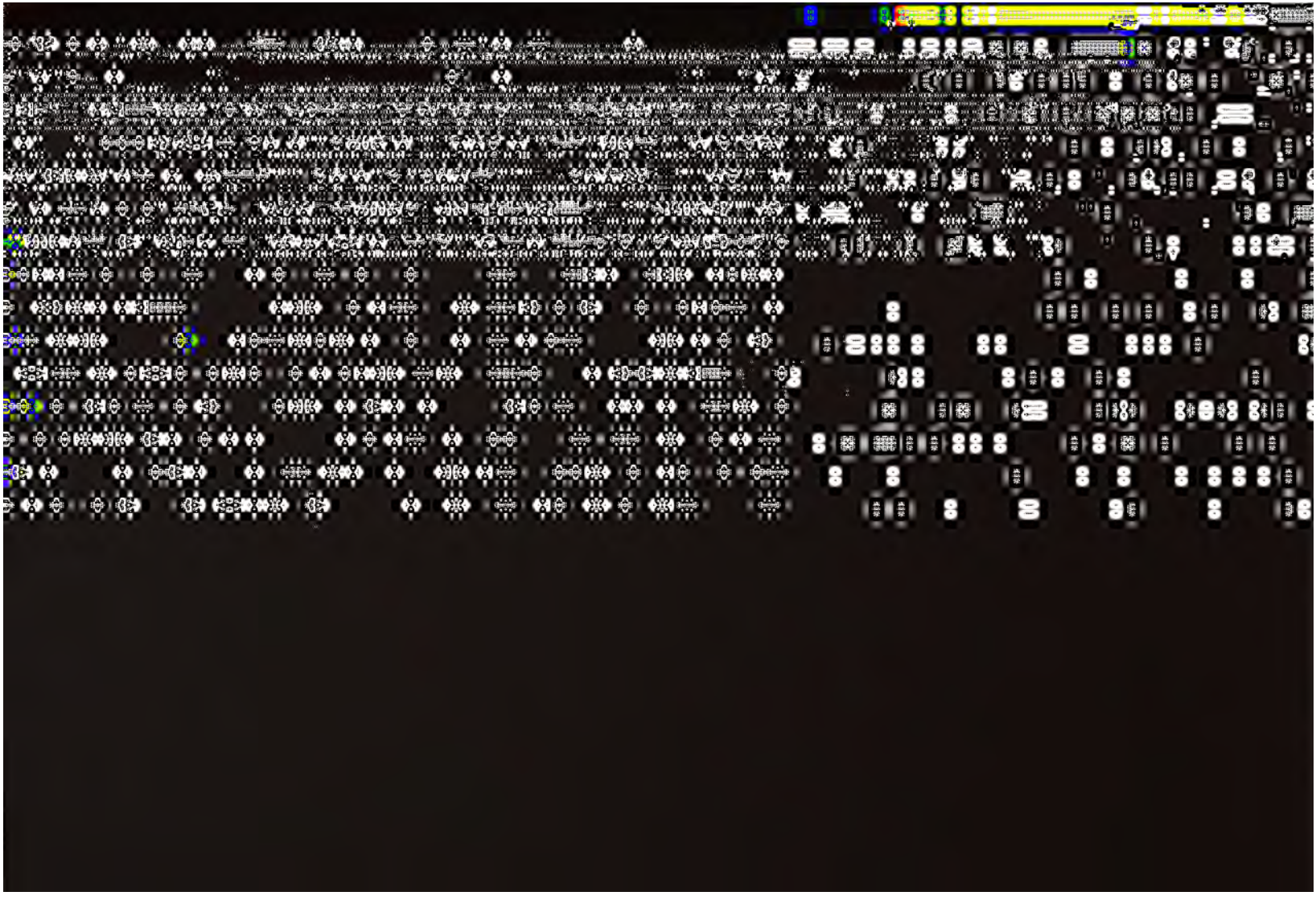

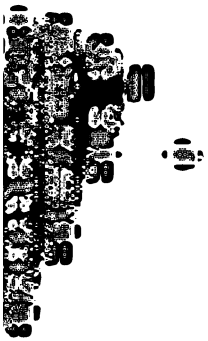

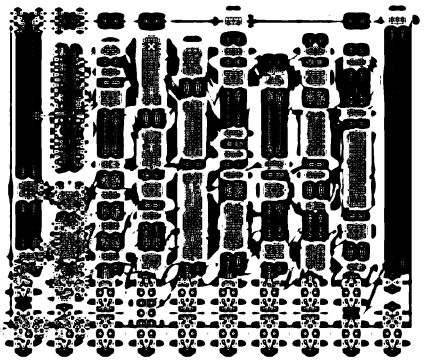

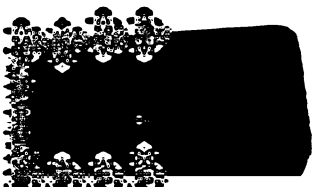

TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE,

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF

BASHAN AND GILEAD,

EAST OF THE RIVER JORDAN:

INCLUDING A VISIT TO THE

CITIES OF GERAZA AND GAMALA,

IN THE DECAPOLIS.

By J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA; AND OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

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TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE, &c.

CHAP. XVI.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF JERUSALEM.

Our excursions around the city being now closed, as well as our visits to the principal places within its walls, I sat down to take a retrospective view of the chief particulars which we had noted in detail, and to unite them into a more general picture.

Jerusalem is seated on unequal ground, on a range of high hills, some few eminences of which are even higher than those on which the city itself stands, and in the midst of a rocky and barren space, which almost defies the efforts of human labour to fertilize by any common process.

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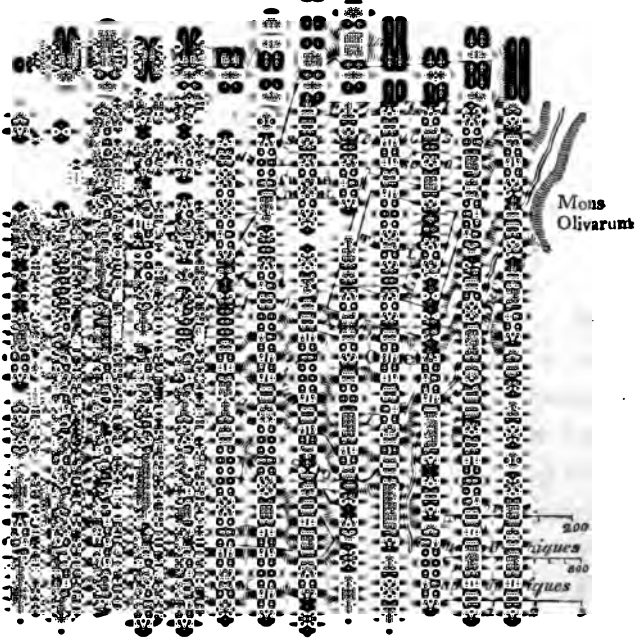

[redacted] from the [redacted] that we

could find, is given in the account of our visit to that place; and most of the conspicuous objects seen from thence have been enumerated in detail. Its boundaries could not be more accurately described in prose than they have been in the animated verse of Tasso, in his admired poem on its delivery. *

* "Gerusalem sovra due colli è posta
D'impari altezza, e volti fronte a fronte.
Va per lo mezzo suo valle interposta,
Che lei distingue, e l'un de l'altro monte.
Fuor da tre lati ha malagevol costa:
Per l'altro vassi, e non par che si monte.
Ma d'altissime mura è più difesa
La parte piana, e 'ncontra borea stesa.

La città dentro ha lochi, in cui si serba
L'acqua che piove, e laghi e fonte vivi;
Ma fuor la terra intorno è nuda d'erba,
E di fontane sterile e di rivi.
Nè si vede fiorir lieta e superba
D'alberi, e fare schermo ai raggi estivi,
Se non se in quanto oltra sei miglia un bosco
Sorge d'ombre nocenti orrido e fosco.

Ha da quel lato donde il giorno appare,
Del felice Giordan le nobil onde;
E de la parte occidental, del mare
Mediterraneo l'arenose sponde;
Verso borea è Betel ch'alzò 'l altare
Al bue dell'oro, e la Samària; e d'onde
Austro portar le suol piovoso nembo,
Betelem, che 'l gran parto accolse in grembo."
Gerusalemme Liberata, Canto iii. s. 55.

During our stay here, I made the most accurate estimate that my means of information admitted, of the actual population of Jerusalem at the present moment. From this it appeared that the fixed residents, more than one half of whom are Mohammedans, are about eight thousand; but the continual arrival and departure of strangers, make the total number of those present in the city from ten to fifteen thousand generally, according to the season of the year. *

The proportion which the numbers of those of different sects bear to each other in this estimate, was not so easily ascertained. The answers which I received to enquiries on this point, were

* In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, Jerusalem is said to have been small, and surrounded by a triple wall, inhabited by a mixture of all the nations in the world. The knights had then there two buildings, in one of which were 500 armed men always ready for action, and the other was used as a hospital for pilgrims. The first stood on the site of the temple, where the great mosque of Solomon now stands. These armed men were of the knights themselves, who had taken the vow of perpetual adherence, besides many French and Italians, who came here to fulfil a vow of service for a limited time. Benjamin merely mentions the temple over the sepulchre of Jesus of Nazareth, and describes the four gates of the city. In the palace of Solomon were then seen the stables of his building. The palace is described as a noble edifice, and the *Picine*, or place where the victims were sacrificed, still existed, on the walls of which the Jews wrote their names when they visited it. — Bergeron's Collection.

framed differently by the professors of every different faith. Each of these seemed anxious to magnify the number of those who believed his own dogmas, and to diminish that of the professors of other creeds. Their accounts were therefore so discordant, that no reliance could be placed on the accuracy of any of them. *

The Mohammedans are certainly the most numerous, and these consist of nearly equal portions of Osmanli Turks, from Asia Minor; descendents of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arab blood, by intermarriages; and pure Syrian Arabs, of an unmixed race. Of Europeans, there are only the few monks of the Catholic convent, and the still fewer Latin pilgrims who occasionally visit them. The Greeks are the most numerous of all the Christians, and these are chiefly the clergy and devotees. The Armenians follow next in order as to numbers, but their body is thought to exceed that of the Greeks in influence and in wealth. The inferior sects of Copts, Abyssinians, Syrians, Nestorians, Maronites, Chaldeans, &c. are scarcely perceptible in the crowd. And even the Jews are more

* Two centuries ago there were in Jerusalem three Christians for one Turk. — See Travels of Two English Pilgrims, in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 339.

remarkable from the striking peculiarity of their features and dress, than from their numbers, as contrasted with the other bodies.

From Christmas to Easter is the period in which the city is most populous, the principal feasts of the Christians falling between these great holidays. At the latter festival, indeed, it is crowded, and the city exhibits a spectacle no where else to be seen in the world. Mecca and Medina offer, perhaps, a still greater variety of persons, dresses, and tongues; yet there the pilgrims visit but one temple, and are united in one faith; while here, Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, all perform their devotions within a few yards of each other, each proudly believing that this city of the Living God is holy and noble to himself, and his peculiar sect alone. It is this persuasion that conjures up between them that feeling which Mr. Browne meant to describe, when he says of the Moslems and the Christians, that "there exists between them all that infernal hatred which two divinely revealed religions can alone inspire." *

In Jerusalem, there is scarely any trade, and but few manufactures. The only one that at all flourishes, is that of crucifixes, chaplets, and relics, of which, incredible as it may seem, whole

* Browne's Travels in Africa and Asia, p. 362. 4to.

cargoes are shipped off from Jaffa, for Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Religion being almost the only business which brings men of opposite quarters together here, there is much less bustle than would be produced in a trading town by a smaller number of inhabitants.

This city being included within the pashalic of Damascus, is governed by a Mutesellim, appointed from thence; and the nature of his duties, and the extent of his responsibility, is similar to that in other Turkish towns. No difference is created by the peculiar sanctity of this place, as is done by that of the Arabian cities of Mecca and Medina; for while a governor of either of these is honoured by peculiar privileges, the Mutesellim of Jerusalem ranks only as the magistrate of a provincial town.

The force usually kept up here consists of about a thousand soldiers, including horse and foot. These are armed and equipped in the common Turkish fashion, and are composed of Turks, Arabs, and Albanians. The walls of the city, added to the strength of its natural position, form a sufficient defence against any attack from the armies of the country; and some few cannon, mounted at distant intervals on the towers, would enable them to repel a besieging force of Arabs, but it could offer no effectual

resistance to an attack conducted on the European system of war.

From the general sterility of the surrounding country, even when the early and the latter rains favour the husbandman's labours, and from the frightful barrenness that extends all around Jerusalem during the parching droughts of summer, every article of food is much dearer here than it is in any other part of Syria. The wages of the labourer are advanced in the same proportion; as the lowest rate given here to those who perform the meanest offices, is about the third of a Spanish dollar per day; while on the sea-coast of this country, it seldom exceeds a sixth, and in Egypt is never more than an eighth of the same coin.

So much has been said on almost every subject connected with this city, from the natural desire to gratify the ardent curiosity which the very name of Jerusalem must excite, that it is difficult to say any thing which should be perfectly new. On the other hand, that desire of communicating or of dwelling on details, being always as great on the part of the writer, as the readiness to receive them can be on that of those who read, it is equally difficult to know where to stop. If, after these dry details, the reader should still, however, desire to see them united,

or grouped, as it were, in a more general and finished picture, I could not do better than refer him to that which M. Chateaubriand has drawn; for though its chief merit is in the style of its colouring, there are many faithful touches in it, and its dark shades will offer a striking contrast to the "gorgeous magnificence of glittering domes, and stately palaces," which the illusions of the first view have conjured up for more travellers than one, on first beholding this holy city. *

* "Les maisons de Jérusalem sont de lourdes masses carrées, fort basses, sans cheminées et sans fenêtres; elles se terminent en terrasses aplaties ou en dômes, et elles ressemblent à des prisons ou à des sépulcres. Tout seroit a l'œil d'un niveau égal, si les clochers des églises, les minarets des mosquées, les cimes de quelques cyprès et les buissons de nopals, ne rompoient l'uniformité du plan. A la vue de ces maisons de pierres, renfermées dans un paysage de pierres, on se demande si ce ne sont pas là les monumens confus d'un cimetière au milieu d'un désert?

"Entrez dans la ville, rien ne vous consolera de la tristesse extérieure: vous vous égarez dans de petites rues non pavées, qui montent et descendent sur un sol inégal, et vous marchez dans des flots de poussière, ou parmi des cailloux roulans. Des toiles jetées d'une maison à l'autre augmentent l'obscurité de ce labyrinthe; des bazars voûtés et infects achèvent d'ôter la lumière à la ville désolée; quelques chétives boutiques n'étalent aux yeux que la misère; et souvent ces boutiques même sont fermées dans la crainte du passage d'un cadi. Personne dans les rues, personne aux portes de la ville; quelquefois seulement un paysan se glisse dans l'ombre, cachant sous ses habits les fruits de son labeur, dans la crainte d'être

So much learning and critical sagacity have been already exercised in dissertations on the topography of this ancient city, and in endeavours to identify the chief points of it with the local positions now seen, compared with the existing traditions regarding them, that it might be thought an unwarrantable presumption to dispute the accuracy of the inferences to which these have led. The subject, however, is sufficiently obscure even now, after all the learning and skill that have been exhausted thereon, to admit of new lights being thrown on it; but that, not so much from opening new and hidden stores of learning regarding the changes which this city has undergone, as from an examination of the local features of its present site, free from the shackles and fetters of monkish guidance and unsupported tradition.

The principal cause of the errors which are presumed to exist in the systems that pretend

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dépouillé par le soldat; dans un coin à l'écart, le boucher Arabe égorge quelque bête suspendue par les pieds à un mur en ruines: a l'air hagard et féroce de cet homme, à ses bras ensanglantés, vous croiriez qu'il vient plutôt de tuer son semblable, que d'immoler un agneau. Pour tout bruit dans la cité déicide, on entend par intervalle le galop de la cavale du désert: c'est le janissaire qui apporte la tête du Bédouin, ou qui va piller le Fellah." Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, tom. ii. p. 176.

to fix with such infallibility the localities of this celebrated spot, has been, no doubt, the necessity of adapting the plans of the ancient city to the exclusion of Calvary without the walls. The place assumed for Calvary, is now in the very centre of the modern town, so that, on the face of such an assumption, it must appear that the city has gained on the one side by just as much exactly, as that is now within and distant from its walls. In making this place of Calvary the chief point from which the relative positions and distances of the other positions are ascertained, instead of fixing it by reference to more decisively marked natural features, a confusion has ensued, which it would require the breaking down of all the fabric that superstition has raised thereon to reduce into intelligible order.

Objections to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and of Calvary, in which it is fixed, were urged, even by pious Christians, at a very early period, and Quaresmius undertook to answer them.*

* Quaresmius opens his chapter, entitled, "Objectiones nonnullæ quibus impugnatur veritas sanctissimi Sepulchri," by saying "Audivi nonnullas nebulones occidentales hæreticos detrahentis iis quæ dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sepulchro, et nullius momenti ratiunculis negantes illud vere esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu, &c." (Vid. cap. 14. lib. 5. Elucid. T. S.) In the following chapter (15.) he offers a refutation of the objection

These have again been renewed by Dr. Clarke, the latest, and, for a long time, the only Protestant traveller into the Holy Land, who had enough of the love of Scriptural illustration to think the topography of Jerusalem worth enquiring about. According to the opinion of some of the critics, he has succeeded in proving that the spot assumed for Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, is not the one which they really occupied* ; while others think the matter still doubtful, and incline rather to the hypothesis which he has attempted to overturn. †

The most satisfactory way of examining this question, will be, perhaps, to go over the original authorities for the topography of the city itself, and of such remarkable places as are mentioned in its immediate neighbourhood, as these will form the safest guides by which to infer the positions of others.

Josephus, in his chapter appropriated ex-

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urged by Gulielmus de Baldensel, which was, that the original sepulchre was an excavation, whereas the present appeared to be a building. "Monumentum Christi erat excisum in petra vivâ, &c. illud verò ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento." This is admitted to be true of the *exterior* of the sepulchre, but not of the *interior*, which, it is contended, is the original rock contained within a more costly casing.

* Quarterly Review. † Edinburgh Review.

pressly to the description of Jerusalem, says, "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley dividing them asunder; at which valley, the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct: accordingly, it was called the Citadel by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but 'tis, by us, called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon, when she is horned. Over against this, there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before dis-

tinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices on both sides, are every where impassable." *

We shall not follow the details regarding the walls and the towers, since this is a subject which D'Anville has already done at great length, and one upon which little curiosity would now be excited. Let us rather confine ourselves to the more remarkable features of the ground, and the positions of the hills, by which the great outline will be more easily determined.

The loftiest, the most extensive, and, in all respects, the most conspicuous eminence, included within the site of the ancient city, was that of Sion, called the Holy Hill, and the Citadel of David. This we have positive authority for fixing on the *south* of the city. David himself saith, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the *north*, the city of the great king." †

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, book v. c. iv. s. 1.

† Psalm xlviii. ver. 2.

The second hill, both in size and importance, was Acra. "This," says D'Anville, "rose to the *north* of Sion, its *east* side facing Mount Moriah, on which the temple was situated, and from which this hill was separated only by a chasm which the Asamoneans partly filled up by lowering the summit of Acra, as we are informed by Josephus in the place quoted above; for this summit commanding the temple, and being very near it, according to the account of Josephus, Antiochus Epiphanes erected a fortress upon it to over-awe the city and the temple, which fortress having a Greek or Macedonian garrison, held out against the Jews till the time of Simon, who demolished it, and at the same time levelled the summit of the hill." *

The third eminence was Mount Moriah, on which the temple stood, and this was to the *east* of Acra, but like it to the *north* of Sion, these two being divided from each other by the broad valley subsequently filled up by the Asamoneans, and both being separated from Sion by the valley of the Cheesemongers, or the Tyropæon, which extended as far as the fountain of Siloam.

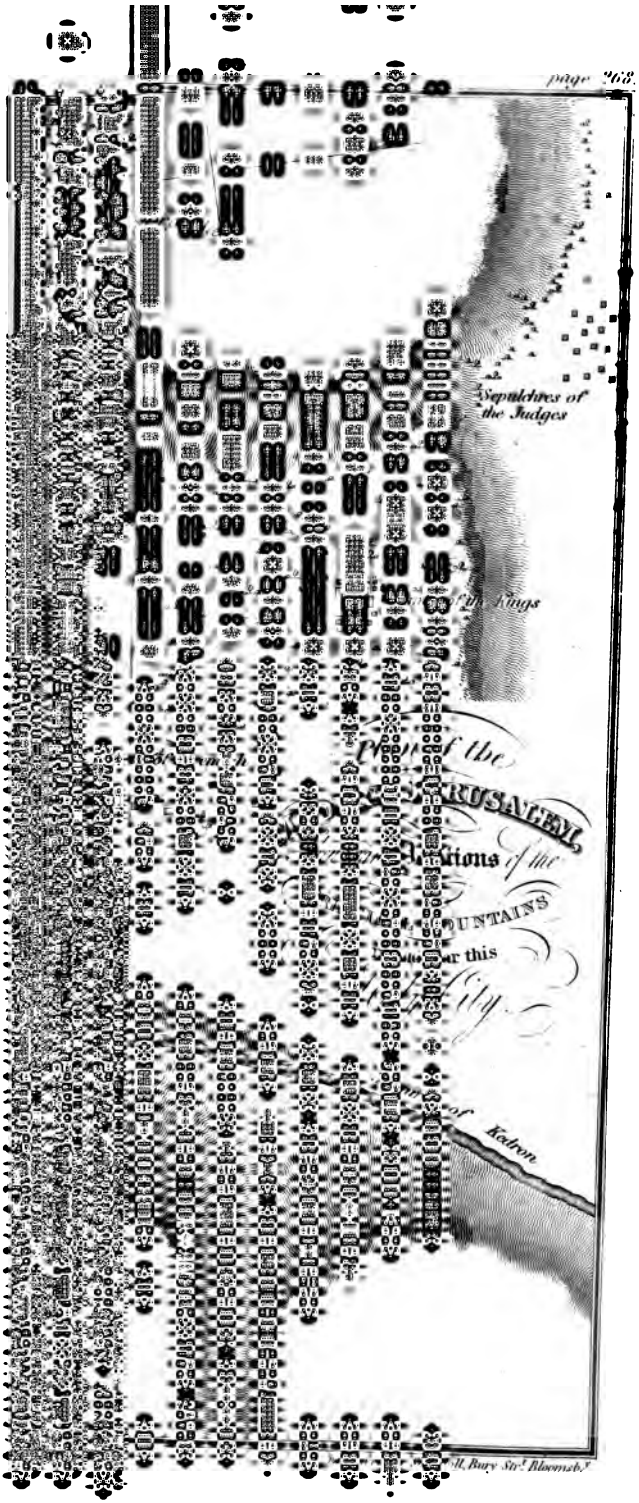
* D'Anville's Dissertation on the Extent of Ancient Jerusalem, in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 311.

"The *east* side of Mount Moriah," says D'Anville, "bordered the valley of Kedron, commonly called the valley of Jehoshaphat, which was very deep. The south side, overlooking a very low spot (the Tyropœon) was faced from top to bottom with a strong wall, and had a bridge going across the valley for its communication with Sion. The *west* side looked towards Acra, the appearance of which from the temple is compared by Josephus to a theatre. And on the *north* side, an artificial ditch, says the same historian, separated the temple from a hill, named Bezetha, which was afterwards joined to the town by an extension of its area." *

We see thus that though there were only *two great hills* on which Jerusalem stood, namely Sion and Moriah, the one containing the ark and the citadel, and the other the temple, divided from each other by the deep valley of the Tyropœon, and connected by a bridge; yet that the *northern* division contained in itself the *three* separate eminences of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, as inferior parts of the same great hill, and separated from each other by less marked boundaries than the two great ones were.

The extent which the area of the ancient city

* D'Anville's Dissertation, in App. p. 312.


page 268.
Sepulchres of the Judges
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occupied, has been variously estimated, from the discordancy of the authorities on which such calculations must necessarily depend. D'Anville, however, has endeavoured to reconcile them, by measuring each estimate by a separate standard, so as to make the lowest estimate of twenty-seven stadia, given by Eusebius, agree pretty nearly with that of fifty stadia, given by Hecatæus, merely from calculating each by a stadium of a different length. I do not think this method inadmissible in all cases; but, in the present, it seems rather like the bending of facts to support a system, than to be borne out by the arguments which he urges in favour of this licence. According to this mode of interpretation, the greatest measure given to the circumference of Jerusalem is 2700 French fathoms, and the least is 2550.*

Pococke, without citing the data on which this conclusion is made, says, that "the ancient city was above four miles in circumference, but that now it does not exceed two miles and a half."† This estimate of its present size accords perfectly with that given before by Maundrell, who measured it from gate to gate by paces, and these 4630 paces, or 4167 English

* D'Anville's Dissertation, p. 325.

† Vol. ii. chap. ii. p. 7. folio.

yards, as turned into French fathoms by D'Anville, make 1955. According to the highest standard of its ancient measurement, therefore, the circumference of the city has become contracted from upwards of four miles to two and a half, and according to the lowest standard, from 2550 to 1955 French fathoms: that is, by the first, the modern city covers a less space of ground than the ancient, by more than a third; and by the last it has lost only a fourth of its original size.

Whatever difference may exist, however, in the standards of measurement, or in their results when applied to a comparison of the ancient with the modern city of Jerusalem, the local features and the respective boundaries of each are so strongly marked, that neither of them can be easily mistaken.

"In respect to the *eastern* part of Jerusalem," says D'Anville, "there is no ambiguity. It is notorious and evident that the valley of Kedron served for the boundary of the city in the same, or nearly the same line, as was described on the border of that valley by the front of the temple which looked that way. We arrive at the like certainty in respect to the *west* of the city, when we consider that the natural elevation of the ground which bounds the area of Sion on that side, as well as towards the *south*, continues

to run *northward* till it comes opposite the temple. On the *north*, it may be added, that the royal sepulchres, falsely called the tombs of the kings, and with great show of probability identified with that of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, forms the utmost limit of the city that way." Josephus says, "The beginning of the third wall was at the Tower Hippicus; whence it reached as far as the *north* quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus; and then was so far extended, till it came over against the monuments of Helena; which Helena was Queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates. It then extended farther to a great length; and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the Monument of the Fuller *, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kedron."† The wall which separately encompassed Zion would form the *southern* boundary.

From all these details, we gather that Jerusalem stood on four eminences, with one very deep valley, and two smaller ones, dividing them; that it was bounded by the monument of Helena, and the sepulchral caves, on the

* Isaiah, vii. 3., and xxxvi. 2.

† Josephus, Jewish War, lib. v. c. iv. s. 2.

north; by the southern brow of Sion, on the *south;* by the brook Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, on the *east;* and by the brow of the hill of Acra on the *west.*

It is said by D'Anville that the most remarkable declivity of Mount Sion looks towards the south-west, being formed by a deep ravine, which in Scripture is denominated "Ge-Ben-Hennom," or the valley of the children of Hinnom; and that this valley, running from west to east, meets at the extremity of Mount Sion, the valley of Kedron, which extends from north to south. No authority is given by him for placing the valley of Hinnom on the south and west of Sion, any more than for making this valley the boundary of the city there. Both these facts are evidently deduced from the previous belief that the hill, now called Sion, is really the Sion of the Scriptures, rather than from any other data.

Pococke says, but also without citing his authority, that "Mount Calvary, and Gihon, and the Valley of Carcases, being mentioned as *north* of Mount Sion, and *without* the city, has made some people conclude that Mount Sion was to the *north* of the city." This Gihon he has inserted in his plan of Jerusalem as a *hill;* but the Scriptures lead us to infer that it was a *low-place.* In pursuance of the vow which

David makes to Bathsheba, that her son Solomon should sit upon his throne after him, he is taken *down* to Gihon, and there anointed king over all Israel.* This same Gihon is proved by Cellarius to be the same with Siloah. † Now the valley which separated the upper from the lower city, called the Tyropæon, or Valley of the Cheesemongers, was still this same one, Gihon or Siloaha, we have seen already from Josephus. This went along to the *south* of Moriah and Acra, and to the *north* of Sion.

There is great reason to believe, too, that the Hinnom of the Scriptures is no other than the Gehinnon or Gihon here mentioned. In dividing the land among the seven tribes of Israel, which had not yet received their inheritance, while the congregation were with the tabernacle at Shiloh, one of the borders of Benjamin is thus described: "And the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the Valley

* 1 Kings, i. 28. et seq.

† Idem fons etiam *Gihon* גיחון vocatur, 1 Reg. i. 33. ubi Salomo rex inunctus dicitur: nam quod Ebraice est על נחון in *Gihon*, sive ad *Gihon*; id in Targum Jonathanis est לשילוחא *in Siloah*. Et ibi Kimchi adnotavit clare, נוחון הוא שילוח *Gihon est Siloah*. Et ad Esa. viii. 6. ubi *aqua Siloah leniter fluentes* memorantur, R. Salomo Isacides גויין חוא ושכזוחי *fons* est, & nomen ejus Gihon. — Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. cap. 13. p. 333.

of the Giants, on the *north*, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi, on the *south*." * The Valley of Giants may possibly be a name alluding to the idols worshipped there, or may mean Rephaim, which is on the *north*, but its relative position to Jebusi is decisive. Jebusi, or the oldest Jerusalem, was on the *north* of Sion, occupying only the two hills, of Acra and Moriah; and being commanded by the citadel which David erected there. These hills were separated by the deep valley of Gihon or Siloa, which can be no other than that of Hinnom, which thus, as it is said, passed by the *south* of Jebusi, but was, for the same reason, to the *north* of Sion.

This valley was called by another name, that of Topheth; for it is said, in the history of Josiah, "And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter pass through the fire to Molech." † That this too was the same with the valley of Carcases, mentioned by Pococke, as situated to the *north* of Sion, another passage of the Scriptures renders equally clear. "And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their

* Joshua, xviii. 16. † 2 Kings, xxiii. 10.

daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart. Therefore, behold the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the Valley of the son of Hinnom, but the Valley of Slaughter, for they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place. And the *carcases* of this people shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth, and none shall fray them away." *

It has been necessary to be thus minute in the authorities for fixing the relative position of this Valley of Hinnom with regard to Mount Sion, as upon that the identification of that mountain itself will chiefly rest. There are, as has been seen, several *eminences* which may, and have been confounded with each other; but there are only the *valleys* of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, and these are too distinct to be involved in the same difficulty. The first of these, forming the *eastern* boundary of the city, and dividing the Mount Moriah from the Mount of Olives, and the second separating the upper from the lower city, or Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, from Sion; and these are identified with the only *two vallies* found in the plan. We may proceed, therefore, now, with better lights in our search after the other principal positions.

* Jeremiah, vii. 31—33.

Let us first, then, seek after this Sion, which formed, on many considerations, the principal station throughout the whole of the history of this celebrated city. On the *south* of the modern town, at a distance of less than a quarter of a mile, and separated from it by the deep valley of Hinnom, is a conspicuous mountain, completely commanding the whole of Jerusalem. "The top of this mountain," says Dr. Clarke, "is covered by ruined walls, and the remains of sumptuous edifices;" but he seems to be quoting from Sandys, who, he says, "noticed these, but did not hint at their origin;" for he observes afterwards, "Here again we are at a loss for intelligence; and future travellers will be aware of the immense field of enquiry which so many undescribed remains, belonging to Jerusalem, offer to their observation."* If the foundations and ruins, as of a citadel, may be traced all over this eminence, the probability is, that this was the real Mount Sion.

As far as my own examination of its summit went, no such ruins of walls and sumptuous edifices arose to my view; but I conceive the position of the mountain itself, with regard to the valley and the opposite hills, to be quite satisfactory, even if not a hewn stone could be

* Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 556, 557.

found there; since we are told that Sion was ploughed like a field *, and that such was the desolation of the city, that not a single bird was to be seen flying about it. †

The first mention of this city is under the name of Salem, which signifies *peace*. After the battle of the kings in the vale of Siddim, and the return of Abram from the slaughter, it is said, "And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine, and he was the priest of the most high God." ‡ This city is thought to have been founded in the year of the world 2023, and is said, at that time, to have occupied only the two hills of Moriah and Acra. § The chronology of Josephus makes it in the year 1955 before Christ, or 2559 of the world, when the event spoken of happened: "So Abram,

* After the final destruction of the temple by Titus and Hadrian, a plough-share was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted, and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. — Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 100.

† Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 54., from Jeremiah and St. Jerome. The prophet Micah thus denounces this rebellious city of the houses of Jacob and Israel. "Therefore, for your sake, shall Zion be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." Chap. iii. 12.

‡ Genesis, xiv. 18. § Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 53.

when he had rescued the captive Sodomites, Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called the King's Dale, where Melchizedek, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies "the righteous king;" and such he was, without dispute; insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterwards called Salem, Jerusalem." *

It is said, that, fifty years after its foundation, it was taken by the Jebusites, the descendants of Jebus, a son of Canaan; that they erected on Mount Sion a fortress, to which they gave the name of Jebus, their father; and that the whole city then received the appellation of Jerusalem, which signifies, "Vision of Peace." Joshua, it is added, made himself master of the lower town of Jerusalem in the first year after his arrival in the Land of Promise. The Jebusites still retained possession of the upper town or citadel of Jebus, and kept it till they were driven out by David, 834 years after their entrance into the city of Melchizedek. †

In the combination of the kings to fight against Joshua, after his taking of the city of

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 10. 3.

† Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 53.

Ai by stratagem, the Jebusite is enumerated among those of the league. Shortly after, another confederation is made, of which Adonizedek, the king of Jerusalem, is at the head, to fight against Gibeon, which had made peace with Joshua.* These five kings of the Amorites were defeated, and a detail is given of the operations against several cities afterwards; but no mention is made among them of Jerusalem. It may be inferred, however, that this was taken; for it is said, "And Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded."†

Salem, Jebus, and Jerusalem seem, therefore, to have been all names of one place, and these distinct from Sion. In the marking out of the borders of the lot of Judah, it is said "And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom, unto the *south* side of the Jebusite, which is Jerusalem. And the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom *westward*, which is at the end of the valley of the giants *northward*."‡ "And the

* Joshua, ix. 1. and x. 1. † Joshua, x. 40.

‡ Joshua, xv. 18. This would agree with the vale of Rephaim.

children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." *

It has been seen that there was a *Lower City* and an *Upper City*. When David first laid siege to Jerusalem, it is said that he took the *Lower City* by force, but the *citadel* still held out. This entering into the *Lower City* is meant, no doubt, when it is said in the Scriptures, "And the king and his men went to Jerusalem, unto the Jebusite, the inhabitants of the land." For it is afterwards said, "Nevertheless David took the strong-hold of Sion, the same is the city of David; so David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward." † This account of the taking of the *Lower City* first, and afterwards of the *citadel* on Mount Sion, is confirmed by Josephus with the same details. He adds, however, "David made buildings round about the *Lower City*, he also joined the *citadel* to it, and made it *one united city*; and, when he had encompassed all with walls, appointed Joab governor. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, the City of David. For under

* Judges, i. 21. † 2 Samuel. v. 7—9.

our forefather Abraham, it was called Salem or Solyma. But after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes *security*."*

Enough has been said to prove that Sion was a mountain *apart* from the hills on which the lower town of Jerusalem stood, divided from them by the valley of Hinnom, and overlooking the whole on the *south*. No other such mountain exists besides that now on the *south* of the same valley, totally excluded from the present site of the modern city; and this, with the united ones of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, on the *opposite* side of the valley, forming but *two* conspicuous hills, agrees perfectly with all the scriptural accounts, as well as with those of profane historians. †

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 3. s. 2. It is the Cadytes of Herodotus, which D'Anville thinks to be the same with the Koddes (قدس شريف the holy and the noble,) of the present day. The one being the Greek name, the other the Syriac.

† Urbem arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quîs vel plana satis munirentur. Nam *duos colles* immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium, ad ictus patescerent. — Tacitus, lib. v. Hist. cap. 11. and 12.

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem enclosed the *two* mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three English miles. Towards the *south*, the upper town and the fortress of David were erected

All round the sides of this mountain, which I conceive to be the real Sion of the Scriptures, and particularly on that facing towards the valley of Hinnom, are numerous excavations, which may have been habitations of the living, but are more generally taken for sepulchres of the dead. Many of these fell under our own observation, as may be seen in the account of our excursion round the city; but Dr. Clarke has described them still more fully. We did not perceive, with this traveller, any "marvellous art" in their execution, nor "immensity" in their size; but these are terms of very indefinable import. They were numerous and varied, both in their sizes and forms; and I think, with that traveller, that of such a nature as these were indisputably the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ *, as has been proved by Shaw †, and elucidated by Quaresmius in his Dissertations concerning ancient Sepulchres.‡

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on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion; on the *north* side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. — Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 23. p. 99.

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 550. † Travels, p. 263. London, 1757.

‡ Vide cap. vii. (De forma et qualitate veterum Sepulchrorum), Elucid. T. S. Quaresmii, tom. ii. p. 127. Antw. 1639.

It has been asserted that the cemeteries of the ancients were *universally* excluded from the precincts of their cities; and this is said to be evident from a view of all ancient cities in the East, as well as from the accounts left by authors concerning their mode of burial. This, however, though true of the Greek and Roman settlements, is not accurate when said of Hebrew towns; and that it was not the case at Jerusalem, there is the most unequivocal evidence, since we have accounts both of royal and of private tombs *within* the city. "So David slept with his fathers, and was buried *in* the city of David *," which is Mount Sion. "And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers *in* the city of David." † Though, it is added in another place, that, from the wickedness of his reign, and perhaps chiefly on account of his idolatry, though they buried him *in* the city, even *in* Jerusalem, yet "they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." ‡

Now, in the hill commonly called Sion, at Jerusalem, over one part of which the present wall of the city actually goes, there are no sepulchres known. Those found on the *north* of the city,

* 1 Kings, ii. 10. † 2 Kings, xvi. 20.
‡ 2 Chronicles, xxviii. 27.

and called the tombs of the kings, must have been *without* the town, and are seated almost in a plain. They are even now at a good distance from the northern boundary of the modern city, notwithstanding that the town has been thought to have encreased so much in that direction, as to include places formerly *without* it. Both their situation and their style of ornament make it highly probable that these were the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and the royal caverns of Josephus; but it is, for the same reasons, quite certain that these were not the sepulchres of Israel and Judah *within* Mount Sion.

What then are the excavations around the sides of this mountain to be considered, if not those very sepulchres in question? It is said by Dr. Clarke, in his account of these same caves, "The sepulchres we are describing, carry, in their very nature, satisfactory evidence of their being situated out of the *ancient* city, as they are now out of the *modern*." * What this evidence is, that they carry in their very nature, it is not said; but probably it is meant, by syllogistic inference, that, since the sepulchres of the ancients were *universally* excluded from the precincts of their cities, and since these are

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 551.

indisputably sepulchres, they must therefore have been situated somewhere *without* the town.

But the first assertion being ungrounded, at least as applied to Jerusalem, the inference is consequently unwarranted. It seems equally inconsistent, too, while endeavouring to identify this hill itself with Mount Sion, which was distinguished by the presence of the tabernacle, called by pre-eminence the Holy Hill, and enclosed as the city of David, within the common boundary, to make the excavations around its sides *without* the city, while every part of the hill itself was *within ;* yet these are the conclusions to which the argument set up by that writer necessarily lead.

In speaking of the hill commonly called Mount Sion, a portion of which is covered by the walls and buildings of the present Jerusalem, Pococke expresses the same disappointment that must be felt by every one in searching there for the sepulchres of the Jewish kings. "There were also," says he, "several remarkable things on Mount Sion, of which there are no remains, as the gardens of the kings, near the pool of Siloam, where Manasseh and Amon, kings of Judah, were buried ; and it is probable this was the fixed burying-place of the kings, it being the ancient eastern custom to bury in

their own houses or gardens." * "And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza. And Amon was buried in his sepulchre, in the garden of Uzza, and Josiah his son reigned in his stead." †

If, after all this, there remained any further doubt on the identity of Mount Sion with this hill, on the *south* of the valley of Hinnom, it would be removed by the inscriptions which have been found deeply carved on the fronts and sides of the sepulchres there. One of these contains the following Greek words, legibly written; + THC AΓIAC CIWN, "Of the Holy Sion," in two places. ‡ The affix of the cross proves it to have been a Christian inscription, if it be coeval with the letters in point of age. The work of the excavation itself might, however, have been Jewish; and indeed, from its situation on Mount Sion, and its numerous subterranean chambers and apartments, it might have been one of the early sepulchres of the Israelites, used for Christian burial after Sion had become desolate. That of David, which

* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. part 1. p. 9.

† 2 Kings, xxi. 18—26. and Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. x. c. 3. 2.

‡ Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 553.

the rest probably resembled in their general form, is described as having many rooms; for both Antiochus and Herod are said to have opened several of these, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered into their monuments. *

Next to Sion, the hills of Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha, deserve our notice, and Calvary shall be considered apart.

Acra, which is said to be a Greek word Ακρα, signifying "a high place," was, as we have seen, in the *western* quarter of the old Jerusalem, and had a citadel on it which commanded Mount Moriah on the *east*, until its summit was levelled, as has been described. † This is still the highest part of the modern Jerusalem, and on it stands the Latin Convent of the Terra Santa, the Castle of the Pisans, or Citadel of David, as it is vulgarly called, the Gate of Jaffa, &c. overlooking the rest of the town.

This hill was originally separated by a broad ditch from Mount Moriah; but we are expressly told by Josephus, that the Asmoneans subsequently filled up that valley with earth, and had

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 15. 3.

† D'Anville's Dissertation, in Appendix to Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 311.

a mind to join the city to the temple *; and this valley is distinctly marked, so as not to be mistaken for the Tyropæon, or Valley of Hinnom, mentioned afterwards as the Vale of Siloam. It is before coming to the low ground, which may mark the place of this valley now filled up, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; and on the low part itself that the present Jewish Synagogue, with its subterranean divisions, is situated. But of course the valley, as being covered with buildings, is not to be seen in its original state.

Moriah had the whole of its summit occupied by the great Temple of Solomon, and the surface of this was even artificially extended to admit of the extensive courts that surrounded it. This is still preserved by the magnificent mosque of Omar, now covering the same ground, and, like the temple of old, forming by far the grandest and most prominent object throughout the city. Its facing toward Kedron, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and forming the *eastern* limit of the city looking towards the Mount of Olives, leaves no possible doubt of its identity.

Bezetha was called also Cœnopolis, or the New City, and was a quarter on the *north* of Acra and Moriah, subsequently added, as Jose-

* Josephus, Jewish War, b. 5. c. 4. s. 1.

phus says: "For as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger; and made that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the Tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley or ditch, which was dug on purpose." As this could not have gone beyond the Tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, the boundary of the city to the *north*, nor beyond the precincts of the temple to the *south*, the northern part of the present Jerusalem, with the wall and the Damascus gate, must occupy that quarter: I conceive, however, that instead of the city having *gained* in that direction, so as to admit the hill Calvary, (a supposition necessary to reconcile its present place with the hypothesis of its once being *without* the walls), it has *lost* as much here by the exclusion of all the space from the present walls to the Tomb of Helena, where the old ones passed on the *north*, as it has done in the opposite quarter by the total exclusion of Mount Sion on the *south*; and that, therefore, the present is little more than half the length of the old city.

Let us now direct our search toward the

disputed place of Calvary. The place called Golgotha, and translated, "The place of a skull," has been by all writers supposed to have been *without* the precincts of the ancient Jerusalem; but there is no positive authority, that I am aware of, for such a position. It has been thought, first, that, as a place of execution, it would be held defiling; and next, as a place of burial, that it could not have been included within the walls. We are at least assured that the tomb in which Jesus was laid, was near to the place of his crucifixion. "Now, in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation-day, for the sepulchre was *nigh at hand.*"* It is fair to presume, that a respectable Jew, like Joseph of Arimathea, would hardly have a garden and a sepulchre newly hewn in the rock, in a place that was defiled by being one of common execution; and I think the very circumstance of these being there, is sufficient to induce a belief that it was *not* a place commonly devoted to so ignominious a purpose. All the Gospels represent Jesus as being hurried away by the multitude, who

* Gospel of St. John, xix. 40, 41.

without; and besides this, you *descend* from the level of the church by thirty steps into the chapel of St. Helena, and by eleven more steps to the place where it was supposed that the cross, the crown of thorns, and the head of the spear was found, after lying buried in this place upwards of 300 years.*

There is therefore, perhaps, after all, sufficient height in this rock to justify its appellation of a mount, whatever be the other authority by which it may have been affixed.

Having endeavoured to answer some of the objections which are usually raised to the present site of Calvary, as included within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, let us see on what foundation those rest which are also urged against the identity of that sepulchre itself.

The most commonly repeated of these, is, that the tomb of a wealthy and noble Jew would not be so *near* to a place defiled by public executions as the supposed sepulchre of Christ is to Calvary. But this, if the most common objection, is of all others the most easily answered, by the testimony of the Evangelist, who says, that "*in* the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and *in* that garden the sepulchre

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 13.

in which Jesus was laid," repeating again that "the sepulchre was *nigh at hand*." *

The critics say, in examining Dr. Clarke's objections to the position of the Holy Sepulchre, which he calls "a mere delusion, and a monkish juggle," "We must confess that the Doctor's reasoning appears to us to be rather plausible. It must, we think, be conceded to him, first, that the site of the supposed sepulchre must have been *within* the walls of the ancient Jerusalem; secondly, that this would be *contrary* to the usual customs of Oriental nations; and, thirdly, that this supposed tomb *in no way* resembles the "cryptæ" excavated in rocks, in which the Jews were accustomed to bury their dead." †

The first of these concessions cannot be refused; the next, as an inference, has been answered already, in speaking of the Jewish custom of burying *within* the cities; but the last is a difficulty not so easily got over.

It has been said by Dr. Shaw, that the present tomb, shown as the sepulchre of Christ, is "a grotto above ground ‡," having been hewn into this isolated form by St. Helena, for the

* Gospel of St. John, xix. 41.
† Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 145.
‡ Ibid. 148.

sake, no doubt, of bestowing on it more of decoration, and making it more conspicuously sacred than could otherwise be done. Whether this be true or not, in point of fact, nothing is more easy of belief, from its practicability. It is said, that the whole of the rock was hewn away around it, so as to let it stand isolated in the centre of the church, and that it was afterwards shaped into form, and cased with marble, and otherwise decorated, as we now see it. This is certain, that the rock now enclosed within the church, whether it be Calvary or not, has been hewn artificially into the form which it now possesses, in many parts at least, and more particularly in the space between what is called the summit of Calvary, and what is called the tomb. The top of the first of these is many feet higher than the highest part of the last, so that the tomb would be much below the top of the original hill. A fissure is shown in the rock, as the cleft produced by the earthquake at the crucifixion. It was seen by Maundrell, and thought by him to be natural. It is not true, however, that it is upon the same level with the sepulchre, as asserted, though if it were, it would only prove that the cleft had been of very moderate depth. In one place, this is called by Dr. Clarke "an *accidental* fissure, which had already been the

object of traditionary superstition *; and in another, when he says, "they say this happened at the crucifixion," he asks, "who shall presume to contradict the tale?" He talks of the "*naïveté* of the tradition," and of "a farrago of absurdities," and "all this trumpery †," in a way that would almost lead one to infer that he doubted the facts of the story altogether. But surely it is not the calling this tomb of the Living God, "a dusty fabric, standing like a huge pepper-box in the midst of the church ‡," that can disprove its having contained the lifeless corpse of the Great Creator of the universe.

In animadverting on the supposed absurdity of conceiving that the rock around the sepulchre had been hewn away (which is nevertheless not only practicable, but rendered highly probable by appearances there,) it is asked, "If there had been originally any hill, or rock, wherein the real sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was hewn for its Jewish possessor, is it likely, or was it possible, that every trace of it should be swept away? Can there be any reason assigned for supposing that Helena would have destroyed what every Christian must have been so anxious to preserve? that,

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 563. † Ibid. p. 546.
‡ Ibid. p. 543.

in the construction of a church to commemorate the existence of the tomb, she would have levelled and cut away not only the sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary? This is so little in consonance with common reason, that it is impossible to allow the old tale its ordinary credit."* First of all, however, it is not true that the sepulchre itself, and the whole of Mount Calvary, is levelled and cut away, which may be seen from other parts of this traveller's own testimony; and even if it had, it would be quite as much in consonance with common reason as any other part of this old lady's conduct, in performing a pilgrimage at eighty, or indeed, perhaps, as reasonable as performing one at all.

To conclude, then, this spot shown as Calvary, may, for the reasons already assigned, be still considered as the place of the crucifixion of our Saviour, until more unanswerable objections be raised to it than have yet been urged. The sepulchre may also have contained his body, since it is within a consistent distance of the mount or hill where the Evangelist places it. It has apparently been separated from the rock by being hewn round, and though cased with marble, and adorned on the outside, is

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 555.

only of the ordinary size of a small sepulchral cavern within. And, lastly, it is in a rock where other hewn sepulchres were, as arose to our own observation in descending to the place where the cross is said to have been found.

CHAP. XVII.

FROM JERUSALEM TO JERICHO.

January 28th. Our preparations for the prosecution of our journey were at length all completed. The route we had marked out to ourselves, was, to cross the Jordan, and go through Jerash and Gamala, two cities, of whose ruins we had heard a great deal in that quarter, Mr. Bankes intending to go off from the latter to Nazareth, and I to pass through Tiberias, on my way towards Damascus and Aleppo. As no one could be prevailed upon to lend us animals on hire for this journey, from its being out of the common caravan road, we were compelled to purchase horses for that purpose. This we effected without much difficulty, and at a very moderate rate: a good travelling horse, with all its equipment in common furniture, costing about four hundred piastres, or less than twenty pounds sterling.

Our party was composed of Mr. Bankes, Mohammed, his Albanian interpreter, and myself; and our guides were two Arabs of the tribe of Zaliane, one the father of the boy released

through Mr. Bankes's interest, and the other this father's friend. Our servants were both left behind at Jerusalem, from the difficulty of taking them with us; my own, a native of Tocat, speaking only Turkish well, and the other, a Portuguese, understanding neither Turkish nor Arabic. The former received a compensation for his services, and a final discharge, from his not being likely to be of further use to me in my way, and the latter was to repair to Nazareth, there to await the arrival of his master.

We were now all dressed in the costume of the country; Mr. Bankes as a Turkish soldier, Mohammed in his own garb as an Arnaout, and I as a Syrian Arab. Our guides wore their own dresses, as Bedouins of the desert. We were each mounted on a horse of our own, there being no animals for baggage, as each person carried beneath and behind him whatever belonged to himself. We were armed but poorly, from the advice of our guides to take with us nothing that could excite the cupidity of strangers, since they wished us rather to depend on our poverty for passing unmolested, than on our force or numbers for defence; and even they themselves carried each a long lance only, rather as a part of their habitual equipment, than as placing much reliance on its use. We took with us a small portion of bread, dates, tobacco, and coffee,

and a supply of corn for our horses, with a leathern bottle of water suspended from the saddle, and these completed our outfit.

After discharging all the numerous claims that were made on our purses, by the host of servants and others belonging to the convent, and paying to the Superior of it for the expences of our living there, at the rate of a Spanish dollar per day, we received their parting benedictions, as we mounted to quit them, amid a crowd assembled round us in the court.

It was about nine o'clock when we left Jerusalem by the Bethlehem gate; turning to the right from this, as we went out of the city, we continued along by the northern wall. In our way, we noticed a fine marble sarcophagus, highly sculptured, and resembling the broken ones seen at the tombs of the kings: it seemed to be used by the way-side as a watering-trough for cattle. The north-east angle of the city wall had a romantic appearance as we passed it, a portion of the wall there going over a high bed of rock, which presents a cliff to the passenger below.

Descending from the brow of the range of hills on which Jerusalem is seated, and going about north-easterly, we passed through the higher or northern part of the valley of Kedron,

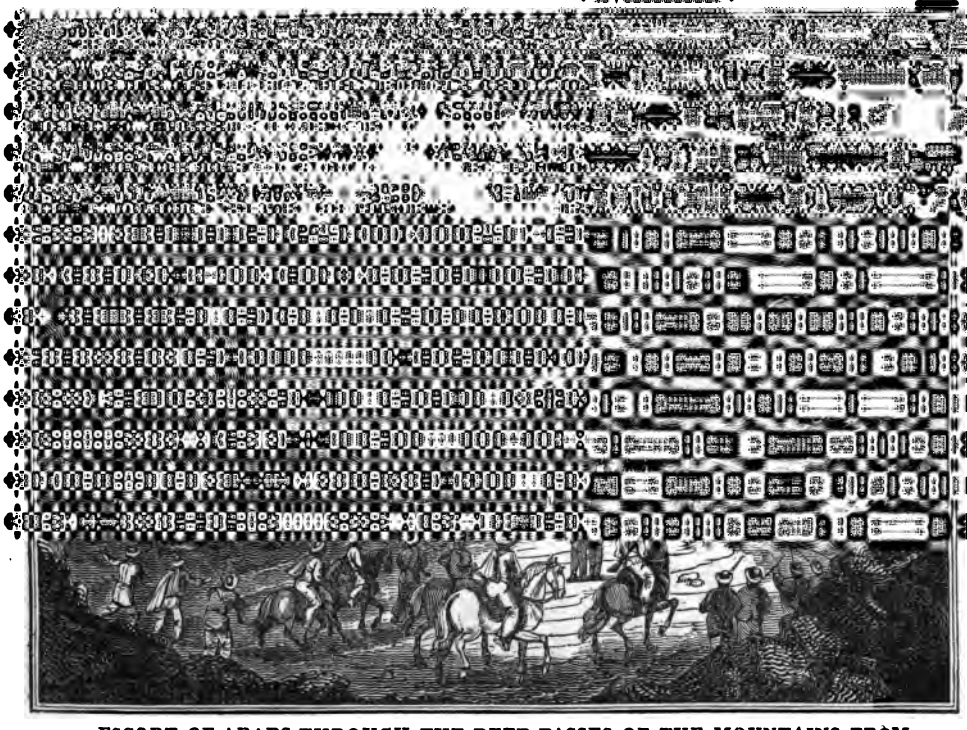
leaving Bethany, Bethpage, and the Mount of Olives, on our right, or to the south of us.

In about three hours from the time of our quitting the gates of Jerusalem, having gone the whole of the way over stony and rugged ground, we reached an encampment of the tribe of Arabs to which our guides belonged. There were only six small tents of coarse hair-cloth, and in each of them not more than half-a-dozen persons. The Arabs of this tribe, extending their range over all the country between the Jordan and Jerusalem, branch off into small parties, to obtain pasture for their camels and goats. It was thus that this party occupied a small hollow of the land, in which were a few shrubs very sparingly scattered over the surface, and hardly sufficient to furnish food for their flocks for more than a few days.

We halted here to receive the pledge of protection from our guides, by eating bread and salt with them beneath their own tents. A meal was prepared for us of sour milk and warm cakes, by the wives of our companions, and coffee was served to us by their children, while we sat around a fire of brush-wood kindled for the occasion. The appearance of the Arabs who composed our party at this halt, was much more different from those who inhabited towns, than

that of the peasantry of our own country is from its citizens. In these tented dwellers, there is seen an air of independence, mixed, perhaps, with something of ferocity, that is never to be witnessed, even in the mussulmauns of large cities; and a more robust, though less pampered frame, with deeply browned complexions, and piercing eyes, gave them altogether a brave and manly appearance.

We remounted, and quitted this encampment at one o'clock, though the dangers that were talked of during our entertainment, as likely to beset us in the way, were sufficient to have deterred persons who were not very firmly bent on their purpose from proceeding. In half an hour, going now more easterly, we came to a very narrow pass, cut through the hill, in a bed of hard rock. There was here an old fort, which had once guarded this passage, but was now deserted, and close by were the ruins of a large square building belonging to it. This is too far distant from Jerusalem to be the Anathath spoken of by Josephus, as the country of Jeremiah, that place being fixed at twenty furlongs, whereas this is at least from twelve to fourteen miles. It corresponds more accurately with the position given to Ephraim, in D'Anville's map, or even of Adommin, a little to the southward of it; but of these no details are given by which



ESCORT OF ARABS THROUGH THE DEEP PASSES OF THE MOUNTAINS FROM JERUSALEM TO JERICHO.

we could ascertain to which, or whether indeed to either of them, this site might be assigned; nor did we learn that it had any name by which our conjectures might have been assisted.

After going through the pass, we descended again into deeper valleys, travelling sometimes on the edges of cliffs and precipices, which threatened destruction on the slightest false step. The scenery all around us was grand and awful, notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the barren rocks that every where met our view; but it was that sort of grandeur which excited fear and terror, rather than admiration.

The whole of this road from Jerusalem to the Jordan, is held to be the most dangerous about Palestine, and, indeed, in this portion of it, the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder, and on the other, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. It was partly to prevent any accident happening to us in this early stage of our journey, and partly, perhaps, to calm our fears on that score, that a messenger had been despatched by our guides to an encampment of their tribe near, desiring them to send an escort to meet us at this place. We were met here accordingly, by a band of about twenty persons on foot, all armed with matchlocks, and presenting the most ferocious and robber-like ap-

pearance that could be imagined. The effect of this was heightened by the shouts which they sent forth from hill to hill, and which were re-echoed through all the valleys, while the bold projecting crags of rock, the dark shadows in which every thing lay buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigned around, presented a picture that was quite in harmony throughout all its parts.

It made us feel most forcibly, the propriety of its being chosen as the scene of the delightful tale of compassion which we had before so often admired for its doctrine, independently of its local beauty. *

One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn; one

* "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance, there came down a certain priest that way, and when he saw him he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him." St. Luke, x. 30—34.

must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horse's hoofs rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the Good Samaritan can be perceived. Here, pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful aspect of every thing around. Here, the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the Priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the Good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature.

After about three hours' travel from the camp at which we had halted, and little more than six hours' journey from Jerusalem, in nearly a north-eastern direction, we came upon the ruins of an aqueduct, leading from the foot of a hill

towards the plain. The channel for the water was lined on the inside with plaster and gravel, like the aqueduct at Tyre. Close by it were the remains of a fine paved way, with a single column, now fallen; probably one of the mile-stones on the high-road from Jerusalem to Jericho.

We caught from hence the first view of the Great Plain, as it is called, or of the Valley of Jordan. We could see, too, the point at which that river emptied itself into the Dead Sea, after pursuing its serpentine course through the plain, in nearly a south-east direction. The sea itself is bounded by high mountains, both on the east and the west, and its surface is generally unruffled, from the hollow of the bason in which it lies scarcely admitting the free passage necessary for a strong breeze. It is, however, for the same reason, subject to whirlwinds or squalls of short duration; but, at the present moment, its surface exhibited a dead calm, and its waters gave back a whitish glare, from the reflection of the sun on them.

Still descending, we came, in half an hour, to other portions of aqueducts, originally perhaps connected with these, which we had seen above. Here, however, we noticed the addition of arched or vaulted reservoirs for the water, at the termination of the channel; so that it was

conveyed to these as places of general store, rather than to any actual town. Indeed, we saw no vestiges which might lead us to infer that any large settlement existed on the immediate spot, though it may be presumed that there were once dwellers near, for whose convenience these reservoirs were constructed.

We conceived it probable that these aqueducts might have been connected with the fountain which was near to Jericho, the waters of which were sweetened by the Prophet Elisha. The fact of the aqueducts being found here, on the foot of the hills, is sufficient to prove that water was at least so scarce an article as to render expensive and artificial means necessary to its preservation. This, too, would be perfectly consistent with such local details as are left us regarding the country immediately about Jericho.

When Elijah was taken up in a chariot and horses of fire, and carried by a whirlwind to heaven, leaving only his mantle behind him, and when the fifty men of Jericho had sought him on the mountains and high places where they thought he might have dropped, but returned without success to this place, where Elisha himself staid; the Scriptures say, "Now the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord

seeth, but the water is nought, and the ground barren."

Josephus, after observing that the Great Plain here is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan, says, "notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground. It arises near the old city, where Joshua, the son of Nane, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war." He then mentions the report of its waters being formerly of such a nature as to destroy every thing over which it ran; but by the virtue of Elisha's throwing into it a little salt, accompanied by a prayer, the pouring out a milk drink-offering, and joining to this the proper operations of his hands, after a skilful manner, the waters became not only sweet and wholesome, but possessed afterwards so fertilizing a quality as to be superior to all others, and to occasion the writer to say, after enumerating the benefits of its stream, "that he who should pronounce this place to be divine, would not be mistaken."

At the present moment, even such channels as were evidently those of streams and torrents, were destitute of water, from the long-continued drought that had prevailed; so that we could say nothing regarding the peculiar qualities of any

of the fountains in this neighbourhood; and, probably from the same cause, the plain here, at the foot of the hills, was parched and barren.

We had scarcely quitted the foot of these hills, to go eastward over the plain, before we came upon the ruins of a large settlement, of which sufficient remained to prove it to have been a place of consequence, but no one perfect building existed. Some of the more striking objects among the ruins were several large tumuli, evidently the work of art, and resembling, in size and shape, those of the Greek and Trojan heroes on the plains of Ilium. Near to this was also a large square area, enclosed by long and regular mounds, uniform in their height, breadth, and angle of slope, and seeming to mark the place of enclosing walls now worn into mounds. Besides these, the foundations of other walls in detached pieces, portions of ruined buildings of an indefinable nature, shafts of columns, and a capital of the Corinthian order, were seen scattered about over the widely-extended heaps of this ruined city.

The site of Jericho has been hitherto fixed by all authorities at Rihhah, the village east of this, and nearer to the banks of the Jordan, where it is equally acknowledged, by these same authorities, that no remains are found by which to identify the position. But from the presence of

the ruins described on this spot, and its more accurately agreeing in distance and local position to that assigned to Jericho by Josephus, there is great reason to believe that here, and not at Rihhah, its remains are to be sought for.

In the history of the Jewish war, after the descent of Vespasian from Neapolis to Jericho, where he was joined by one of his commanders named Trajan, the historian thus describes the position of this city. "It is situate in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limit of the lake Asphaltites southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness." * In another place, when speaking of the city of Jericho, he adds, "This place is 150 furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony. But that as far as the lake Asphaltites lies low, though it be equally desert and barren." †

Nothing can more accurately apply, in all its particulars, than this description does to the site of the present ruins, assumed here as those of the ancient Jericho, whether it be in its local

* De Bello. Jud. l. iv. 8. 2. † Ibid. l. iv. 8. 3.

position, its boundaries, or in its distance from Jerusalem on the one hand, and from the Jordan on the other. The spot lies at the very foot of the barren hills of Judea, which may be said literally to overhang it on the west; and these mountains are still as barren, as rugged, and as destitute of inhabitants as formerly, throughout their whole range, from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. The distance, by the computation of our journey in time, amounted to about six hours, or nearly twenty miles; and we were now, according to the reports of our guides, at the distance of two hours, or about six miles from the banks of the Jordan.

From the very low level of the plain in which Jericho is seated, the palm-tree might find sufficient heat to flourish here, while every other part of Judea would be unfavourable to its growth; and the existence of these trees in this valley, at a very early age, was distinguished as such a peculiarity, compared with the incapacity of the other parts of the land to produce them, that Jericho itself was often called, "The city of Palms." In the view of the Promised Land which Moses was permitted to have from the top of Nebo or Pisgah, over against Jericho, "the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Napthali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the

land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, *the city of palm-trees*, unto Zoar."* It is mentioned, by the same name, when "the children of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law, went up out of *the city of palm-trees*, with the children of Judah, into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad."† And again, when God "strengthened Eglon the king of Moab against Israel, because they had done evil in the sight of the Lord, he gathered unto them the children of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and possessed *the city of palm-trees*."‡

It is more frequently called Jericho, however, and under this name it is mentioned in the curious details which are given of its reconnoitre by the spies, who were entertained in the house of Rahab the harlot, and of its capture, and the falling down of its walls at the sound

* Deut. xxxiv. 1—3. † Judges, i. 16.

‡ Judges, iii. 12, 13.

Jericho יריחו Ιεριχὼ, Luna, vel mensis, aut odor ejus. Civitas opulentissima in tribu Benjamin, ab Jerosolymis CL et à Jordane LX distans stadiis, (Num. xxii. 1. Jos. ii. 1.) quam ædificavit, Hiel de Bethel, 1 Sam. xvi. 34. 2 Par. xxviii. 15. Matt. xx. 29. Luke, xviii. 35. and xix. 1. Nobilius palmetis, et balsami viridariis. Unde etiam civitas palmarum appellatur, Deut. xxxiv. 3. עיר התמרים—Œnomasticum Sacrum, p. 172. ed. 1686.

of the seven trumpets of rams' horns. After this easy conquest, it is said, that "they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword. But they saved the life of Rahab the harlot, and delivered her father, her mother, her brethren, her kindred, and all that she had. And though they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein, yet the silver and the gold, and the vessels of brass, and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord."* Every habitation was destroyed, and Joshua adjured them at the same time, saying, "Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it." †

It was, however, again rebuilt, notwithstanding this denunciation, though it was effected in Ahab's wicked reign. "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun." ‡ It after-

* Joshua, vi. 20—24. † Ibid. ver. 26.

‡ 1 Kings, xvi. 34.

wards continued to be inhabited, as we find Elisha the prophet living there when Elijah was taken up to heaven from him in a chariot of fire.*

In much later times, when Pompey marched from Damascus with his Roman legions and Syrian auxiliaries, against Aristobulus, he came down by way of Pella, Scythopolis, and Corea, in the valley of Jordan, as far as Jericho, where he pitched his camp for a night, and marched on the following morning against Jerusalem.† Even then, the fertility of the surrounding country, the peculiarity of its productions, and the difference of its climate from that of all the rest of Judea, were particularly noticed. "Now here," says the historian, "is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm-trees, besides the balsam-tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice which drops down like tears."‡

The balsam produced by these trees was of such consequence as to be noticed by almost all the writers who treated of Judea. Pliny says, "This tree, which was peculiar to Juria, or the

* 2 Kings, ii. 5.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiv. c. iv. l.

‡ De Bello, l. i. vii. 6.

vale of Jericho, was more like a vine than a myrtle. Vespasian and Titus carried each one of them to Rome as rarities, and Pompey boasted of bearing them in his triumph. When Alexander the Great was in Juria, a spoonful of the balm was all that could be collected on a summer's day; and in the most plentiful year, the great royal park of these tress yielded only six gallons, and the smaller one only one gallon. It was consequently so dear that it sold for double its weight in silver. But from the great demand for it, adulteration soon followed, and a spurious sort grew into common use at a less price.* Justin, indeed, makes it the source of all the national wealth; for, in speaking of this part of the country, he says, "The wealth of the Jewish nation did arise from the opobalsamum, which doth only grow in those countries; for it is a valley like a garden which is environed with continual hills, and as it were enclosed with a wall. The space of the valley containeth two hundred thousand acres, and it is called Jericho. In that valley there is a wood, as admirable for its fruitfulness as for its delight, for it is intermingled with palm-trees and opobalsamum. The trees of the opobalsamum have a resemblance like to fir-

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. c. 25.

trees, but they are lower, and are planted and husbanded after the manner of vines. On a set season of the year they do sweat balsam. The darkness of the place is besides as wonderful as the fruitfulness of it. For although the sun shines no where hotter in the world, there is naturally a moderate and perpetual gloominess of the air. *

The situation, boundaries, and local features of this valley are accurately given in these details; and both the heat and the gloominess were observed by us, though darkness, in the sense in which we generally use it, would be an improper term to apply to this gloom.

In the estimate of the revenues which Cleopatra derived from the region about Jericho, which had been given to her by Antony, and which Herod afterwards farmed of her, it is said, "This country bears that balsam which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there only." † And in the account of Sheba, Queen of Ethiopia, visiting Solomon, from a desire to see a person so celebrated for his wisdom, it is said that she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones; "and they say,"

* Justin's Hist. l. 36.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xv. c. iv. 2.

adds the Jewish historian, "that we are indebted for the root of that balsam, which our country still bears, to this woman's gift." *

It was singular enough that a gift brought by a Queen of Ethiopia to the wealthiest monarch of Judea, should have fallen to the lot of a Queen of Egypt, as given to her by one of the most extravagant even among Roman lovers. Philosophy and wisdom is said to have been the object of Sheba's visit to Judea;

* Ibid. l. viii. c. vi. 6.

Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem; præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ. Palmetis proceritas et decor: balsamum modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intumuit, si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venæ; fragmine lapidis, aut testa aperiuntur. Humor in usu medentium est.—Tacitus, Hist. l. v. c. 6. de hac regione.

Hiericus est planities montibus circumdata, quæ in theatri speciem ad ipsam alicubi declinat.

Ibi est Palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses; locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio centum stadiorum, totus irriguus est, et habitationibus plenus. Ibi et regia est, et Balsami Paradisus, quæ planta aromatica est fruticosa, cytiso et terebintho persimilis: hujus corticem scindentes, succum in vasis suscipiunt, tenaci lacti persimilem: susceptus autem in conchis coagulatur: capitis dolores, et suffusiones oculorum incipientes, et hebetudinem visus mirificè senat, quare in pretio est, eo præsertim quòd hîc solùm nascitur.—Strabo, l. xvi. p. 763.

Judæa reliqua dividetur in toparchias decem, quo decernis ordine: Hiericuntem palmetis consitam, fontibus irriguam, etc. — Plinius, l. v. c. 14.

Cleopatra's pursuits were of a very different kind, as may be learned from Josephus.

At the present time there is not a tree of any description, either of palm or balsam, and scarcely any verdure or bushes to be seen about the site of this abandoned city; but the complete desolation with which its ruins are surrounded, is undoubtedly rather to be attributed to the cessation of the usual agricultural labours on the soil, and to the want of a distribution of water over it by the aqueducts, the remains of which evince that they were constructed chiefly for that purpose, than to any radical change in the climate or the soil.

On leaving these ruins, we thought that, in their greatest extent, they did not cover less than a square mile; but its remains were not sufficiently marked to enable us to form a plan of it. As we continued our way across the plain to the eastward, the same parched soil appeared over every part of it, until after about an hour's ride at a moderate pace, going over a distance of perhaps four miles, in nearly an easterly direction, we reached the village of Rihhah.

As we rode through this, we perceived it to be a settlement of about fifty dwellings, all very mean in their appearance, and every one fenced

in front with thorny bushes, while a barrier of the same kind encircled the whole of the town. This was one of the most effectual defences which they could have raised against the incursions of horse Arabs, the only enemies whom they have to dread, as neither will the horse approach to entangle himself in these thickets of briar, nor could the rider, even if he dismounted, get over them, or remove them to clear a passage, without assistance from some one within.

There was a fine brook flowing by the village, and emptying itself into the Jordan, the nearest part of which river is thought to be about three miles off; and from this brook the inhabitants are supplied with sufficient water for the irrigation of their lands, and for all domestic purposes. The grounds immediately in the vicinity of the village, are therefore fertilized by this stream, and are cultivated with dourra, Indian corn, rice, and onions, the soil and climate here resembling in many particulars that of Egypt.

This place, which is called Rihhah, or "Odour," in modern Arabic, and "Perfume" in the older dialect, has been thought to be on the site of Jericho, from its retaining nearly the same name, and exactly the same signification as the name of the harlot, who entertained the spies of Joshua here; Rahhab, in Hebrew,

meaning also "a sweet smell." * It would agree in the distance assigned to Jericho from the Jordan, and from Jerusalem, with sufficient accuracy, considering the want of exactness in ancient measurements, had there been any remains to induce an opinion of their being really those of that city; but of this it shows no marks. The only things pointed out here, are a modern square tower, of Mohammedan work, which they pretend to be the house of Zaccheus, and an old tree into which they say he climbed up to obtain a sight of Jesus as he passed. This tree is not a sycamore, however, as the Evangelist describes that to have been, but a thorny one of the acacia family, so common in Egypt.

The population is all Mohammedan, and consists of from forty to fifty families only. Their habits are those of Bedouins and shepherds, rather than of cultivators of the soil; this last duty, indeed, when performed at all, is done chiefly by the women and children, as the men roam the plains on horseback, and live by robbery and plunder, which forms their chief and most gainful occupation. They are governed by a Sheick, whose influence among them is rather like that of a father of a family than of a magistrate; and as even fathers can sometimes play

* رياح, plural of ريح odour, fragrance. Rich. vol. i. p. 488.

the tyrant, so does this chief, though there is always this check on his conduct, that he owes his authority to the sufferance of his people, and could be not only removed from his power, but even deprived of his life, by declamation, on his surpassing the bounds which fortunately are set even to despotism.

This place is celebrated by many Mohammedan authors, as the "Dwelling of the Giants," and tradition assigns the building of its seven walls to seven separate kings. * Its deliverer, or its destroyer, Joshua, has been held by some among both Jews and Mohammedans, to have been a person elevated above human nature, and partaking in some degree of the divine, from the splendour of his victories. They conceive that he was sent by Jehovah to dispossess the giants of this their strong-hold and principal abode. According to the author of the Tarikh Montekheb, this first battle of Joshua in the Promised Land was fought on a Friday evening. As the night approached, and by the ordinances of Moses it was forbidden to labour on the Sabbath, he implored the Almighty to lengthen out the day, that he might have time to finish the combat. It was then, continues the same pious author, that by the order of the Divine Omni-

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. i. p. 248.

potence, the sun was stayed in his course, and rested an hour and a half beyond his usual time above the horizon, giving to Joshua ample time to cut in pieces the army of his enemies. He adds, that this day having thus become longer than any other, by an hour and a half, enjoyed by this means a prerogative, which no other day besides itself could presume to; and he assures us, that this was one of the reasons why the Mussulmans had chosen Friday, above all the other days of the week, for their holy day, instead of the Sabbath of the Jews. *

These traditions are preserved here in full force, with some amplifications of detail, as we had an opportunity of noticing in the conversation of the party to whom our guides had introduced us, at the house of the chief. These men, perceiving that we were strangers in the land, were glad to gratify our curiosity, and flatter their own vanity at the same time, by recounting to us the stories of which this place of their abode had been the scene.

The house, in which we had taken up our quarters for the night, was one belonging to the Sheick of the village, but at present it was not occupied by him. The whole male population of the place that was now in it, however,

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. ii. p. 330.

crouded around us to make a thousand enquiries regarding our journey, the motives which led to it, and the end it was to accomplish. We insisted that we were going to Damascus, and assured them that our having taking this route to go up on the east side of the Jordan, rather than having followed the more direct road of the caravans by Nablous, was in the hope of being less interrupted by the Bedouins of these parts, than by the insolent soldiery of the Pashalics, who were now in great commotion on account of the expected changes in Syria.

Our tale was believed, though our hopes of passing securely were somewhat damped, by learning that, only on the preceding evening, a party of five hundred horsemen, from the Arabs of this same tribe, had halted at Rihhah on their way to the northward, whither they had gone on a plundering excursion, intending to sweep the whole range of the valley of Jordan. Mr. Bankes and his attendants had slept in this same house, and with nearly the same party as were here now, on his return from a visit to the shores of the Dead Sea; and there then seemed to him to have been a consultation among them, about the detention of their guests, either with a view to plunder them, or to obtain a ransom for their liberation. In the present instance, however, they

treated us with all the hospitality for which the Arabs are so celebrated; and though our own fears might have conjured up appearances of an unfavourable nature, or given to common incidents an interpretation which they would not, under any other circumstances, have borne, we relied on the pledges of our conductors. After a rude but hearty meal, we stretched ourselves along on straw mats, by the side of the cattle which were driven in among us for shelter, and, surrounded by at least twenty of our visitors under the same shed, we soon sunk to sleep.

CHAP. XVIII.

PASSAGE OF THE JORDAN.

January 29th. We were stirring before the day had clearly opened, and after a morning pipe and coffee, served to us by our entertainers, we mounted our horses at sun-rise, and continued our journey.

On quitting Rihhah, we pursued a northerly course, keeping still on the western side of the Jordan. In our way, we noticed a thorny tree, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and is said to be found on both banks of the river. Pococke calls this the zoccum-tree, and says, "The bark of it is like that of the holly; it has very strong thorns, and the leaf is something like that of the barbary-tree; it bears a green nut, the skin or flesh over it is thin, and the nut is ribbed and has a thick shell and a very small kernel; they grind the whole, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam. But I take it to be the Myrobalanum, mentioned by Josephus as grow-

ing about Jericho *, especially as it answers very well to this fruit, described by Pliny as the produce of that part of Arabia which was between Judea and Egypt." †

The opinion that this was the tree from the branches of which Christ's crown of thorns was made, is very prevalent among the Christians of these parts; but our Mohammedan guides professed their ignorance of this matter. Among them, however, it must have some traditional celebrity, as rosaries or chaplets are made of its berries, and sold at the door of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, both to Christians and Mohammedans. Those for the former have a cross at the top, and those for the latter consist of ninety-nine in number, divided by beads of a different colour into three parts, containing thirty-three in each, which is the only difference

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8.

† Myrobalanum Troglodytis, et Thebaidi, et Arabiæ, quæ Judæam ab Ægypto disterminat, commune est, nascens unguento, ut ipso nomine apparet. Quo item indicatur et glandem esse arboris, heliotropio quam dicemus inter herbas, simili folio. Fructus magnitudine avellanæ nucis. Ex his in Arabia nascens Syriaca appellatur. Sunt qui Æthiopicam iis præferant glandem nigram. E diverso Arabicam viridem ac tenuiorem, et quoniam sit mentuosa spissiorem. Unguentarii autem tantum cortices premunt: medici nucleos tundentes affusa eis paulatim calida aqua. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 21.

between them; and each is equally esteemed by the respective purchasers.

As we proceeded to the northward, we had on our left a lofty peak of the range of hills which border the plain of Jordan on the west, and end in this direction the mountains of Judea. This peak is conceived to be that to which Jesus was transported by the devil during his fast of forty days in the wilderness, "after which he was an hungred." *

Nothing can be more forbidding than the aspect of these hills: not a blade of verdure is to be seen over all their surface, and not the sound of any living being is to be heard throughout all their extent. They form, indeed, a most appropriate scene for that wilderness in which the Son of God is said to have "dwelt with the wild beasts, while the angels ministered unto him." †

In this mountain of the temptation, there are many grottoes of the early anchorites, which

* St. Matthew, iv. 2.

"And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine." St. Luke, iv. 5—7.

† St. Mark, i. 13.

were visible to us as we passed. The grottoes below are in long ranges, consisting each of several separate chambers; those higher up are in general isolated ones, all in the cliff of the rock; and on the summit of the hill itself is a small Greek chapel, erected on the supposed spot of the temptation. The grottoes were all formerly inhabited, and one of the uppermost of them, which is approached by a flight of steps cut out of the solid rock behind the immediate front of the cliff, has still its decorations of Greek saints painted on the walls, with the colours perfectly fresh. All are, however, now deserted, and the enthusiasm which, in past ages, filled these cells with hermits, is now scarcely sufficient to induce Christian pilgrims even to visit them.

While we were talking of the scriptural and traditional history of the holy places within our view, as the country here abounds with them, our guides mentioned to us, that, about a day's journey to the southward of Jericho, and, like it, seated at the foot of the mountains of Judea, was a place called Merthah, supposed to be the site of a city of the giants, and, consequently, of very great antiquity. They added, that there were at this place many sepulchral caves, from which human skulls and bones had been taken out, that were at least three times the size of

those of the human race at the present day. They offered the unanswerable testimony of their having seen these with their own eyes, and handled them with their own hands, so that we were reduced to the necessity of believing that they had really deceived themselves in these particulars, or that they had invented the falsehoods, or that these were really the remains of the skeletons of that race of giants which both sacred and profane history place in this country.

It is probable, from the reported situation of Mertha, or Mersha, as one of our guides pronounced it, that it was the Maresha or Marissa of Josephus, seemingly both one place, and corresponding to this in position. Mareshah is first enumerated among the strong and large cities which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, built in the tribe of Judah, in contradistinction to those which he also built in the tribe of Benjamin. * It is soon afterwards again mentioned as a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah; and it was at this place that Zerah, the king of Ethiopia, halted, when he came with an army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, to go up against Asa, the king of Jerusa-

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 10. s. 1.

lem.* Marissa, too, was in the same tribe of Judah, and, from all the details given of it, was probably the same place, as Cellarius has considered it to be. When Judas Maccabeus, and Jonathan his brother, defeated Georgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, at that place, which is near the sea-coast on the west, they are said to have pursued the fugitives of the defeated army to the very borders of Judea, naturally in the opposite quarter, or on the east, and there to have taken from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set its towers on fire, and to have burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa.† This same city is said, in another place, to have been in the middle of the country, in distinguishing it from the cities of the sea-coast.‡

D'Anville has placed the sites of these as of two separate places, near to a city, which, as he himself says, we do not find mentioned until after the ruin of the second temple of Jerusalem, but which, under the Greek name of Eleutheropolis, or the Free City, appears to have presided over a great district, though it is now unknown.||

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 12. s. 1.

† Ibid. l. xii. c. 8. s. 6.

‡ Ibid. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 4.

|| D'Anville, Compendium of Ancient Geography, tom i. p. 405. 8vo.

Cellarius thinks it to have been somewhere near the sea-coast of Judea, from its being enumerated with Keilah and Achzib, in the catalogue of the cities of Judah.* In a passage of Eusebius, quoted by St. Jerome, it is mentioned with Eleutheropolis; but as it is still considered to be the Maresha, or Marissa, of Josephus, as before described, the probability still is, that it was in the *central*, or towards the *eastern* borders of Judea, and near the spot where this Mertha, or Mersha, is said to be, about a day's journey, or thirty miles, to the south of Jericho.

This, too, was in the part of the country reputed to abound with giants, as is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures. Josephus, in describing the taking of Hebron, whose inhabitants, according to the Jewish mode of warfare, were all put to the sword, says, that in this part of the country there were, till then, left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men, he adds, are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. "Elia and Arihhah, or Jerusalem and Jericho, according to the Arabian writers, were

* Joshua, xv. 44., and Cellarius, Geog. Ant. l. iii. c. 13. p. 359.

the two capital cities of this holy portion of the globe. In this province alone, they say that there were a thousand towns, each of which was furnished with beautiful gardens. These gardens produced such extraordinary fruits, that it is said five men were scarcely able to bear the weight of one of their grapes; and it is insisted on, that the same number of persons might conveniently dwell within the rind of one of their pomegranates. The giants, which were of the race of the Amalekites, occupied this happy land, and the smallest of these, according to the opinion of the divines, were of the height of nine cubits. Oy, the son of Anak, was esteemed to surpass them all in stature, and he is said to have prolonged his life to a period of three thousand years." *

In about two hours from the time of our quitting Rihhah, and after passing the foot of the mountain of the Temptation, keeping nearly a northerly course all the way, we saw on our left, at the distance of a mile from us, the ruins of a fine Roman aqueduct. This presented a range of at least twenty arches, still perfect; and as its direction was from west to east, or leading from the feet of the mountains of Judea out into the valley of Jordan, its purpose

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. ii. p. 15.

seemed to be to conduct the water from a fixed point, on the side of the hills, to another fixed point in the plain, so as to prevent its dispersion over the surface of the ground. We were sufficiently near it to observe that the architecture was Roman, and the masonry massive.

From the distance we had gone, and the line of direction in which we had travelled from Rihhah, this spot seemed likely to mark the site of Cypros, one of the cities built by Herod in this plain. The historian of this king, after describing his magnificent monuments at Cæsarea and Antipatris, the first of which he named in honour of his emperor, the last in honour of his father, says, "He also built upon another spot of ground, above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros." * This same place was afterwards embellished by Archelaus, of whom the historian says, "He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, into the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted. He also built a village, and called it Archelais." †

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 2. Jewish War, l. i. c. 21. s. 4.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xvii. c. 13. s. 1.

The palace may have been that of Cypros, or a royal palace at Jericho, as it is expressed, though the name here might be used for that of the territory, as no royal palace is spoken of at that city. The construction of the aqueduct for carrying the waters from the hill into the plain, can refer, however, only to this situation at the foot of the mountains, and probably to this identical work now seen here in ruins. The village of Archelais is made a large town in D'Anville's map, and placed farther to the northward; but as no particular position is assigned to it by the historian, beyond its being near to the other works described, it may occupy its proper place.

This spot is near to that, too, in which the old city of Ai must have stood, a city which commanded a district or small province of land, and was itself governed by a king. Its position is given as *east* of Bethel, which was in the mountains here on our left, where Abram had an interview with God, and where he erected an altar to him. "And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the *east* of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the *west*, and Hai on the *east*." *

* Genesis, xii. 8. and xiii. 3. — These places of Bethel and Ai are constantly spoken of together in the Scriptures. See Ezra, xi. 28. and Nehemiah, vii. 32

The details of the war against it, and the stratagem of Joshua to take it, are such as could be applied with strict local accuracy to a city seated on ground like this. The ambush, it appears, was placed among the hills on the west, or in the words of the Scriptures, "*behind* the city, between Bethel and Ai." The portion of the troops which was to decoy the men of Ai from their city, was pitched on the *north* side of it, and then there was a valley between it and Ai. The ambush was composed of five thousand men, and the rest of the host, or thirty-five thousand men, were to make the false attack, for they had only lost thirty-six men out of the three thousand sent up first against this city, and the whole number that crossed Jordan, was forty thousand men prepared for war. This succeeded so well, that both Bethel and Ai were emptied of their inhabitants in the pursuit of their besiegers, when the ambush rose and entered into the city, and gained an easy victory. *

* Not an individual was spared amid the general slaughter, and even when all were fallen, both men and women, to the number of twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai, they returned to the city and smote it with the edge of the sword. "And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day. And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide. And as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap of stones, that remaineth unto this day." — See Joshua, c. viii. throughout.

On going about half an hour farther to the north, over the same kind of plain, we opened on our left a beautiful valley, now highly cultivated, and spread over with a carpet of the freshest verdure, seemingly, from its colour, of young corn. This place, we were told was called Waad-el-Farah, or the Valley of Farah, and a town was spoken of near it, in the side of the hills, bearing the same name, and being larger and more populous than Rihhah.

The situation of this place corresponds very accurately with that assigned to Phasaelus, as well as the aspect of the country near it, and even the present name may be conceived to be but a corruption of the original one. It was the same Herod who had built the magnificent city of Cæsarea in honour of his emperor, Antipatris in honour of his father, and Cypros in honour of his mother, that built here also Phasaelus in honour of his brother. The first monument which he erected to him was the celebrated tower of this name in Jerusalem, which was compared to the Pharos of Alexandria, one of the seven wonders of the world, and said to have been at once a part of the strong defences of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. The historian adds, "He built also a city of the same name in the Valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country

more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced. And this also he called Phasaelus."* This was among the cities that enjoyed his peculiar protection, from the fraternal feelings which first prompted its dedication; and, accordingly, it was relieved by Herod of those annual pensions or tributes which were paid by other cities.† At his death, too, he bequeathed this city by testament to Salome, his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmæ of silver that was coined.‡

From hence we now crossed over the plain towards the river, changing our course from north to nearly due east, and at the moment of our making this sharp angle, estimating ourselves to be little more than six miles to the northward of Rihhah. We found the plain here generally unfertile, the soil being in many places encrusted with salt, and having small heaps of a white powder, like sulphur, scattered at short intervals over its surface.

In about an hour after our turning to the eastward, we came to a ravine, apparently the bed of a torrent discharging itself from the north-west into the Jordan, perhaps either the

* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 2. Ibid. Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 21. s. 10.

† Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 22. s. 12.

‡ Ant. Jud. l. xvii. c. 8. s. 1. and c. 11. s. 5.

one marked as descending from Ai, or that from Phasaelus, though, in point of distance from Rihhah and Jericho, falling just between these two, or the places assigned them on the map. We descended into this, which was now perfectly dry, and it led us, after a course of a few hundred yards, into the valley of the Jordan itself. The whole of the plain, from the mountains of Judea on the west, to those of Arabia on the east, may be called the Vale of Jordan, in a general way; but in the centre of the plain, which is at least ten miles broad, the Jordan runs in another still lower valley, perhaps a mile broad in some of the widest parts, and a furlong in the narrowest.

Into this we descended, and we thought the hills of white clayey soil on each side, to be about two hundred feet in height, the second or lower plain being about a mile broad, generally barren, and the Jordan flowing down through the middle of it, between banks which were now fourteen or fifteen feet high, while the river was at its lowest ebb. There are close thickets all along the edge of the stream, as well as upon this lower plain, which would afford ample shelter for wild beasts; and as the Jordan might overflow its banks, when swoln by rains, sufficiently to inundate this lower plain, though it could never reach the upper one, it was, most pro-

bably, from these that the lions were driven out by the inundation which gave rise to the prophet's simile, "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan, against the habitation of the strong." * The overflowing is said to have been in the first month, which corresponds to our March, as, in the enumeration of the armies that came to David at Hebron, those are spoken of who went over Jordan in the first month, when he had overflowed all his banks. † In the description of the passage of the priests with the ark, while the waters were divided and stood in a heap, as in the passage of the Red Sea, it is said too, that "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest ‡," which would be both in the autumn and in the spring, as there are two harvests here, one succeeding the early, and the other the latter rains.

From our first descent into this lower plain, we went on northerly again for about half an hour, and finding a small party of Arabs encamped on the west bank of the river, we alighted at their tents to refresh. These were of the tribe of Zaliane, to which one of our guides belonged, and we met, therefore, with the most welcome reception. A meal of warm cakes and goat's milk was prepared for us, and

* Jeremiah, xlix. 19. and l. 44. † 1 Chron. xii. 15.
‡ Joshua, iii. 15.

we were glad to shelter ourselves from the scorching heat of the sun, beneath the shade of these humble dwellings. Many enquiries were made of our guides as to the motives and object of our journey, yet, though we were in safety among this portion of the same tribe to which one of our guides belonged, neither of them would explain, but merely said that we were going to Sham, or Damascus, with which the rest seemed satisfied. As the road on the east of the Jordan was acknowledged by all to be dangerous, we took from the party here a third horseman, the chief aim seeming to be, to have our escort formed of those who were personally known among the Arabs on the other side of the river, and who could therefore ensure us a safe and unmolested passage through their territories.

We quitted this encampment about noon, our party now being composed of six horsemen, namely, three Arab guides, Mr. Bankes, Mohammed, his Albanian interpreter, and myself. We here crossed the Jordan, just opposite to the tents, which were pitched at the distance of a few yards only from the river. The stream appeared to us to be little more than twenty-five yards in breadth, and was so shallow in this part as to be easily fordable by our horses. The banks were thickly lined with tall rushes, olean-

ders, and a few willows; the stream was exceedingly rapid; the waters tolerably clear, from its flowing over a bed of pebbles; and as we drank of the stream, while our horses were watering, we found it pure and sweet to the taste.

From the distance which we had come from Jericho northward, it seemed probable, that we had crossed the river pretty nearly at the same ford as that which was passed over by the Israelites, on their first entering the promised land. In the account of this passage given by the sacred writers, it is merely said, that they encamped afterwards in Gilgal, in the plains of Jericho.* But Josephus says, after describing their coming up out of Jordan, "So the Hebrews went on further fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho."† This last was therefore sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half from the place of crossing; and the first was ten furlongs, or a mile and a quarter from Jericho, and fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter from the passage of the river. "Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp," says the historian, "was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty. For since they had now passed over the river Jordan, they

* Joshua, iv. 19.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 5. cap. 1. sec. 4.

looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians and in the wilderness." It is likely, therefore, that Jericho was really at the spot where we noticed the extensive ruins described, and that Gilgal was near to Rihhah, east of Jericho, and consequently nearer to the river. We saw nothing of the heaps of stones that were raised as a memorial of the passage, either at Gilgal, or at the stream of the Jordan itself; but these are monuments that soon disappear. The place of Christ's baptism by John is but a little to the southward of this, as fixed on by the Catholics, but the Greeks assign a spot three or four miles still more southerly than that assumed by the former as the scene of this event.

Ascending now on the east side of the Jordan, we met large flocks of camels, mostly of a whitish colour, and all of them young and never yet burthened, as our guides assured us, though the whole number of those we saw could not have fallen short of a thousand. These were being driven down to the Jordan to drink, chiefly under the care of young men and damsels. Among them, many of the young ones were clothed around their bodies with coverings of hair tent-cloth, while the elder females had their udders bound up in bags, tied by cords crossing over the loins, and the males walked with two of the legs tied.

We now began to ascend the white and barren hills of Arabia, as these are usually called, having quitted the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, in which Jericho, Bethel, and Hai, were situated *, and entered that of Ruben, on the other side of Jordan. † We were followed in our way up these hills by a horseman from a neighbouring tribe of Arabs, who impatiently demanded whither we were going? It was replied, "to Sham or Damascus;" when he answered, that we should have kept along the banks of the river, and not have come up into the hills to avoid the king's highway. The conduct of our guides was, on this occasion, as inexplicable as before; for, instead of frankly explaining the reason of our having chosen this route, they seemed to admit that they had mistaken their road, and even turned down towards the valley of the Jordan again, in compliance with the stranger's advice.

It was not until this man had quitted us, under the firm persuasion of our pursuing the high road to Damascus, that we again ventured to go up into the hills, after having gone about six miles on a north-east course from the time of our crossing the river. In another hour of a course

* Joshua, xviii. 12, 13. 20.

† Joshua, xiii. 15—23.

nearly east, we gained the summit of the range, and enjoyed from thence a most commanding prospect. These hills were of less elevation than those on the west, or the mountains of Judea, their height not exceeding a thousand feet, while those of Jerusalem were from fifteen hundred to two thousand at least.

We could now bear testimony to the accurate description of the great outline features of this territory, as given by Josephus; as our point of view embraced almost all the objects which he enumerates. In speaking of Jericho, he says, "It is situate in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward; but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the Lake Asphaltitis, southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness. There is an opposite mountain, that is situate over against it, on the other side of Jordan. This last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle, between these ridges of mountain, is called the Great Plain. It reaches from

the village Ginnabris, as far as the Lake Asphaltitis. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth an hundred and twenty; and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it; that of Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other. For the former is salt and unfruitful; but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summertime; and by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan; which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees, that are near its banks, are more flourishing, and much more fruitful; as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing or fruitful." *

We could perceive from hence that the valley had no apparent bounds to the north; as the view was lost in that direction, in the open space which was occupied by the Lake of Tiberias. To the south, we could see the surface of the Dead Sea more distinctly; the head of it appearing to be about twenty miles off. Its western shores were now exposed to us; and these, like its eastern ones, seen from the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem, presented the appearance

* Joseph. Jewish Wars, l. iv. cap. viii. s. 2.

of bold and lofty cliffs and precipices, of considerable elevation, and abrupt descent. The southern limits of this lake could not be perceived; for there, as toward the Lake of Tiberias on the north, the view was lost in distance, without having any marked boundary to define its extent. The length of the valley, or of the Great Plain as it is called, might be therefore fully equal to that given to it by Josephus; and its breadth of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, seemed to us to be near the truth, as an average taken throughout its whole extent. The Jordan divides it, as he describes, nearly in the centre; and the contrast of the soil, the climate, and the productions, observable in the valley and in the hills, is perfectly consistent with the account given. The verdant carpet which was spread out over the cultivated land of Farah on the opposite side, was conspicuously beautiful from hence; and with the ruined aqueduct still seen near it, and the general aspect of its situation, we had no longer any doubt of its having been the site of former opulence, but admired the choice which had fixed on such a spot for a royal city.

We now quitted the summit of this first range of hills on the *other side* of Jordan, (as they are always called in the holy writings, from their being penned at Jerusalem,) and going

down on their eastern side over a very rugged and pathless way, we came into a deep glen about sunset; and finding a small encampment of a friendly tribe of Bedouins there, we alighted at their tents to pass the night.

Our reception here was as warm and cordial as if we had been members of the same community, or friends of long standing. Our horses were taken from us by the young men of the tribe, and furnished with corn from the saiks of the Sheikh. We were ourselves conducted to his tent, and were soon surrounded by the elders, who sat in a half circle before us on the ground. A substantial meal, though rudely prepared, was set before us, and by dint of perseverance, aided by the courtesy of gratitude to our entertainers, and a wish to avoid detection as strangers, we contrived to surmount those revolting sensations which our stomachs often experienced, before we could eat cordially and heartily of the messes of an Arab tent.

We were a good deal entertained here by meeting a sort of travelling artist, or a jack-of-all-trades, a desert Arab, who travelled about from camp to camp among the Bedouin tribes, and obtained a competent livelihood among them by his labours. His chief occupations were as a farrier, a blacksmith, and a saddler; occupations which embraced the whole range

of a Bedouin's wants, beyond that portion of them which could be supplied by his own labours, and by those of his wife and children. This man had his anvil, his bellows, and his smaller tools, all with him; and as we entered, he had just closed his day's work beneath the tent allotted to our repose. He rose to receive us with something of a more studied grace in his attitude than is usually witnessed in Arabs of the desert, who are remarkable for the natural ease of their politeness; but this difference arose perhaps from the variety of his associates in an itinerant life. He was as complete a wit, and as determined a jester as any Dicky Gossip of a country village in England, and we were amused until a late hour with his facetious mirth.

We were on the point of rising with the rest to retire each to his own length and breadth of earth to repose, for there were no other beds to recline on, when all at once some one of the party recognized Abou Farah, the eldest of our guides, as one on whose head rested the blood of a son of their tribe. The accusation was hastily made, a momentary confusion ensued, but at length, after some explanation, all was calm again. This, it seemed, was an affair of four years' standing; but it having been clearly demonstrated by one of the party that it was

simply a wound that was received, from which the sufferer had recovered, and that this was accidentally given, matters were adjusted; and a general reconciliation following, we lay down to repose under the assurance of being in perfect safety beneath their tents.

CHAP. XIX.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS OF GILEAD.

JANUARY 30th. We quitted our station in the valley at sun-rise, and after continuing to travel for about two hours, in a north-east direction, always ascending by winding paths, we came to the summit of the second range of hills on the east of Jordan. The first of these that we had crossed was generally of white lime-stone, but this last had a mixture of many other kinds of rock. Among these was a dark red stone, which broke easily, and had shining metallic particles in it, like those of iron ore. It is probable, therefore, that this is the range which is called by Josephus the Iron Mountain, as before quoted; for he describes this as being only one of the ridges of the eastern hills which bounds the Jordan on that side, and runs in length as far as Moab. Both of these ranges are barren throughout, excepting only in some little dells near their feet, where the rain-water lodges, and favours vegetation. The first, or western one, is a little higher than the second; but in all other respects, except these enumerated, their

general character is alike, and they both run in the same direction of nearly north and south.

We had no sooner passed the summit of the second range, going down a short distance on its eastern side by a very gentle descent, than we found ourselves on plains of nearly as high a level as the summits of the hills themselves, and certainly eight hundred feet, at least, above the stream of the Jordan. The character of the country, too, was quite different from any thing that I had seen in Palestine, from my first landing at Soor to the present moment. We were now in a land of extraordinary richness, abounding with the most beautiful prospects, clothed with thick forests, varied with verdant slopes, and possessing extensive plains of a fine red soil, now covered with thistles as the best proof of its fertility, and yielding in nothing to the celebrated plains of Zabulon and Esdraelon, in Galilee and Samaria.

We continued our way to the north-east, through a country, the beauty of which so surprised us, that we often asked each other what were our sensations; as if to ascertain the reality of what we saw, and persuade each other, by mutual confessions of our delight, that the picture before us was not an optical illusion. The landscape alone, which varied at every turn, and gave us new beauties from every different point

of view, was, of itself, worth all the pains of an excursion to the eastward of Jordan to obtain a sight of; and the park-like scenes that sometimes softened the romantic wildness of the general character as a whole, reminded us of similar spots in less neglected lands.

It was about noon when we reached a small encampment of Arabs, who had pitched their tents in a most luxuriant dell, where their flocks fed on the young buds of spring, and where they obtained for themselves an abundant supply of wood and water. Near to this camp, we found a place on which were the ruins of former buildings, with a large mill-stone of a circular form, with a square hole for an axle in its centre, and at least six feet in diameter. The name of this place, we were told, was Zerkah. It was seated in a beautiful valley; and on the hills around it were an abundance of wild olives, oaks, and pine-trees, of a moderate size. This place may therefore be the "Zara in the valley of Cilices," which Josephus mentions with Heshbon, Medaba, and Pella, as being in the possession of the Jews in the reign of Aretas, the Arabian king. *

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 4. Zaram is the same place mentioned by Reland among the towns possessed by Alexander Janneus in the land of Moab. Palæstina Illustrata, c. xx. de Moabitis, l. i. p. 101.

After smoking a pipe, and taking coffee with the Arabs, we quitted them about one, and soon after saw a smaller party, consisting of about a dozen families only, halting to pitch their tents in a beautiful little hollow bason, which they had chosen for the place of their encampment, surrounded on three sides by woody hills. The sheikh was the only one of the whole who rode; the rest of the men walked on foot, as did most of the women also. The boys drove the flocks of sheep and goats; and the little children, the young lambs, the kids and the poultry, were all carried in panniers or baskets across the camel's backs. The tents, with their cordage and the mats, the cooking utensils, the provisions and furniture, were likewise laden upon these useful animals. As these halted at every five steps to pull a mouthful of leaves from the bushes, the progress of their march was very slow; but the patience of all seemed quite in harmony with the tardy movement of the camel, and it was evidently a matter of indifference to every one of the group whether they halted at noon or at sun-set, since an hour was time enough for them to prepare their shelter for the night.

We now went up from hence by gradual but gentle ascents, over still more beautiful and luxuriant grounds than those which we had passed before. In our way, we left two ruined

buildings on our right, named Shahan and Ullan; they were both extensive but simple edifices, and seemed to be either large caravanseras, or very small villages recently deserted. After ascending these hills until three o'clock, pursuing, generally, a north-east direction, we came to a high plain, and going about a quarter of an hour over this, we came to a deep ravine, which looked like a separation of the hill to form this chasm by some violent convulsion of nature. The height of the cliffs here on each side, which were nearly perpendicular, was not less than five hundred feet, while the breadth from cliff to cliff was not more than a hundred yards.

The plains at the top, on both sides, were covered with a light red soil, and bore marks of high fertility; but the dark sides of the rocky cliffs that faced each other in this hollow chasm were, in general, destitute of verdure.

We descended into this ravine by winding paths, since it was every where too steep to go directly down; and found at the bottom of it a small river, which flowed from the eastward, appearing here to have just made a sharp bend from the northward, and from this point to go nearly west to discharge itself into the Jordan. The banks of this stream were so thickly wooded with oleander and plane trees, wild olives, and wild almonds in blossom, pink and white sickley-

man flowers, and others, the names of which were unknown to us, with tall and waving reeds, at least fifteen feet in height, that we could not perceive the waters through them from above; though the presence of these luxuriant borders marked the winding of its course, and the murmur of its flow was echoed through its long deep channel so as to be heard distinctly from afar. On this side of the stream, at the spot where we forded it, was a piece of wall, solidly built upon the inclined slope, constructed in an uniform manner, though of small stones, and apparently finished at the end, which was towards the river, so that it never could have been carried across, as we at first supposed, either for a bridge or to close the pass. This was called by the Arabs, "Shughl beni Israel," or the work of the sons of Israel; but they knew of no other traditions regarding it. The river, where we crossed it, at this point, was not more than ten yards wide, but it was deeper than the Jordan, and nearly as rapid; so that we had some difficulty in fording it. As it ran in a rocky bed, its waters were clear, and we found their taste agreeable.

This stream is called "Nahr-el-Zerkah," or the river of Zerkah, by the Arabs, from the name of the nearest place, which we had just passed through before coming here. From its position, there can be no doubt of its being

the Jabbok of the Scriptures, which was the northern boundary of the Amorites, as the stream of Arnon was their southern one; and this northern border, from its character as already described, would fully justify the assertion of its strength. "And Israel smote him (Sihon king of the Amorites) with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon, for the border of the children of Ammon was strong." *

Josephus, in describing the geographical boundaries of the land of the Amorites, says, "This is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island; the river Arnon being its southern limit, the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which, running into Jordan, loses its own name †, and takes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it on its western ‡ coast." This is in perfect unison with the boundaries so frequently mentioned in Holy Writ, and more particularly in Jephthah's racapitulation of the wars of the Israelites, when

* Numbers, xxi. 24. Deut. ii. 37. and iii. 16.

† It is called the *Ford* of Jabbok, in the Scriptures, (Gen. xxxii. 22.) and its very name is expressive, Jaboc, יבוק — evacuatio, vel dissipatio, aut lucta. Nomen vadi in Jordanem profluentis. — Œnomasticum Sacrum, p. 159.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 5. s. 2.

he sends messages to the king of the children of Ammon, wherein he says of the former, "And they possessed all the coasts of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and from the wilderness even unto Jordan*." This is the same place with Peniel, where Jacob wrestled with a man, or, as he himself supposed, with God, whom he thought he had seen face to face.† As it was here, too, that his name was

* Judges, xi. 22. † Genesis xxxii. 24. et seq.

"A patriarchæ itinere incipiemus, qui ex Mesopotamia regressus à monte Galaad in locum venit, quem à visis ibi angelorum castris Mahanaim adpellavit. Cadit in sortem tribûs Gad, quamquam trans torrentum Jabok fuit; Josuæ, xiii. 26.; et cap. xxi. 38. ubi inter Leviticus hujus tribus numeratur. Ibi Isboseth rex contra Davidum creatus, 2 Sam. ii. 8. ibidemque castra David habuit, quum pulsus ab Absolone esset, c. xvii. 24. 27. Hieronymus de Locis. Manaim (Μανααιμ contracte Eusebius) potest ergo in Galaad etiam transcribi: potest etiam in principio Perææ propriæ.

"Inde transvexit suos patriarcha torrentem Jabok, et singulare certamine cum fortiore luctatus, locum Pnuel seu Pniel, id est פניאל facies Dei, nominavit. Genesis, xxxii. 30. seq. Urbs postmodum facta et emunita, Jud. viii. 8. 17. Hieronymus scripsit Fanuel: Septuaginta verterunt εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ. Ipse amnis Jabok, qui Mahanaim inter et Pnuel delabitur, ab Hieronymo præeunte Eusebio sic descriptus est. Jabock fluvius, quo transmisso luctatus est Jacob adversus eum qui sibi adparuerat, vocatusque est Israel. Fluit autem inter Amman, id est Philadelphiam et Gerasam, in quanto milliaria ejus; et ultra procedens, Jordani fluvio commiscetur. Adde Joseph. l. iv. Ant. c. 5." — Cellarius, Geog. Ant. l. iii. c. 13. Peræa, p. 397.

first changed from Jacob to Israel, because as a prince he had power with God, and with men had prevailed, it is not impossible but that the singular building of the sloping wall below might bear the name of Beni Israel, in allusion to this event, and be thought even to be a monument commemorative of it by the people of the country here.

We ascended the steep on the north side of the Zerkah, and on reaching its summit, came again on a beautiful plain, of an elevated level, and still covered with a very rich soil. We had now quitted the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and entered into that of Og, the king of Bashan, both of them well known to all the readers of the early scriptures. We had quitted, too, the districts apportioned to the tribes of Reuben and of Gad, and entered that part which was allotted to the half tribe of Manasseh, beyond Jordan eastward, leaving the land of the children of Ammon on our right or to the east of the Jabbok, which, according to the authority before quoted, divided Ammon or Philadelphia from * Gerasa. The mountains

* Jabboc fluvius terminus Ammonitarum appellatur, Deut. iii. 16. גבול בני עמון עד יבק הנחל *usque ad Jabbok fluvium terminum filiorum Ammon dedi Rubenitis et Gaditis*; Quod tamen non debet intelligi ac si Jabboc ita distingueret Ammonitas et Israëlitas ut quemadmodum regio Israëlitarum est ad

here are called the land of Gilead * in the Scriptures, and in Josephus; and, according to the Roman division, this was the country of the Decapolis, so often spoken of in the New Testament †, or the province of Gaulonites, from the city of Gaulon, its early capital. ‡

We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us; its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Among the trees, the oak was frequently seen, and we know that this territory produced them of old. In enumerating the sources from which the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the

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austrum Jabboci, ita regio Ammonitarum (si ex parte, certe non omnis ibi fuit) esset ad septentrionem: nam ultra Jabbocum septentrionem versus erat Basan et portio dimidiæ tribus Menassis; et Gilead se extendit usque ad Dan. — Reland. l. i. c. 21. de Moabitis, p. 104.

* Terra Gilead sæpe omnem regionem trans Jordanem denotat. — Reland. l. i. c. 1. p. 4.

† St. Matt. iv. 25. Mark, v. 26. and vii. 3.

‡ Ab urbe גולן Golan regio vicina dicitur GAULANITIS, quam Josephus videtur extendere a Peræa juxta ripam Jordanis orientalem usque ad Libanum. Scribit enim Ant. viii. 2. in Galaaditide ac Gaulonitide usque ad Libanum sitas fuisse urbes 60 munitas, quæ חות יאיר 1 Reg. iv. 13. nuncupantur. — Reland. l. 1. c. 33. p. 199.

time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the Prophet says, "Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars." * Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated this word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of the *fat bulls of Bashan*, which occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in our modern maps as such, between the Jordan and the Euphrates †; but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors too might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person. ‡

* Ezekiel, xxvii. 6.

† It was because the tribes of Reuben and Gad possessed a multitude of cattle that they intreated Moses to give them this land for their portion, as it was a land of rich pastures, and not to take them over Jordan. See Numbers, xxxii. 1—5. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 7. s. 3.

‡ It was called the Land of Giants, probably from the great strength of its people. (Deut. iii. 13.) It contained threescore great cities, with walls and brazen bars, (1 Kings, iv. 13.) "And Og, the king of Bashan, pre-eminent above his subjects, slept on a bedstead of iron which was nine cubits long, and four broad, after the cubit of a man." (Deut. iii. 11.)

In our way, just as we came out from a thick wood and opened on an extensive view, we were surprised by a party of peasants on foot, to the number of thirty at least, all armed with muskets slung across their shoulders. These were Arabs, though they possessed scarely any thing but the language in common with the Arabs whom we had been accustomed to see. The great features of difference observable in them were, that they were generally taller, more robust, and of finer forms and fairer complexions. Some of them had even light eyes, and many of them brown and auburn hair, which they wore in tresses hanging over their shoulders. The dress of these men differed also both from that of the desert Arabs, and of the Syrian peasants. They wore long white shirts girded round the loins, but neither turbans nor other coverings for their heads. From retaining the beard while the hair was suffered to hang in long and curling locks over the neck, they resembled the figures which appear in the Scriptural pieces of the great masters, and many of them reminded us of the representation of Christ himself in the principal scenes of his life.

These men were cultivators of the earth, and had been occupied in the tillage of their lands, from which labour they were now returning. As they live in a state of complete independence

of Pashas or other governors, there are no boundaries that mark any peculiar portion of the earth as private property. Rich land is so abundant in every direction near them, that the only claim to the possession of any particular spot, is that of having ploughed and sown it, which entitled the person so doing to the harvest of his toils for the present season. In all their occupations they continue to be armed, partly because their country is sometimes scoured by horse Arabs from the eastern deserts, against whom they are then called to defend themselves; and partly because it is the fashion of the country to be armed, insomuch, that the being without weapons of some kind or other, is always imputed to great poverty or to cowardice. *

They seemed to suspect our party of having come among them with some views of plunder, and therefore at first approached us with great caution, and even after we had prevailed on

* Diodorus Siculus, after describing the manners of the Nabatheans, or Arabs of the desert, says, "There are, likewise, other kind of Arabians, some of whom employ themselves in husbandry, selling of corn, with other provisions, and agree with the Syrians in all other things except dwelling in houses. These were an intermediate race between the Arabs of the desert, and the Arabs of towns, and resembled, in the general features of their lives, the people we met with here. — Diod. Sic. b. xix. c. 6.

them to answer our enquiries, and persuaded them into a belief of our story, that we had chosen this route to Damascus rather than the western one, from believing it to be, at the present moment, less dangerous, they still hung together, and had their arms in readiness to repel any treacherous attack. They informed us of their being the inhabitants of a village near, and offered to conduct us to their Sheikh, to which, as it lay directly in our way, we made no objections, and accordingly followed them.

As we continued to advance, going always on a general course of north-east, with trifling variations on the right and the left, we came into cultivated land, sown with corn, the young blades of which were already appearing above the earth, from their having had gentle showers on the mountains, while all the country west of the Jordan was parched with drought. The general face of this region improved as we advanced farther in it, and every new direction of our path opened upon us views which surprised and charmed us by their grandeur and their beauty. Lofty mountains gave an outline of the most magnificent character; flowing beds of secondary hills, softened the romantic wildness of the picture; gentle slopes, clothed with wood, gave a rich variety of tints, hardly to be imitated by the pencil; deep valleys, filled with mur-

muring streams and verdant meadows, offered all the luxuriance of cultivation; and herds and flocks gave life and animation to scenes as grand, as beautiful, and as highly picturesque, as the genius or taste of a Claude could either invent or desire.

It was about four o'clock when we approached the village of Boorza, on entering which, we passed two grottoes excavated in the solid rock, of a size only just sufficient to admit of the sepulture of a single corpse; and near to these, we saw also, on the outside, a sarcophagus of stone, which was sufficient to mark them as sepulchral caves, and to prove the place to be the site of some more ancient settlement. We were desirous of alighting at the town, and of passing the night there; but our guides, who were quite as unwilling to trust themselves in the hands of these cultivators, as they themselves were to confide implicitly in the faith of desert Arabs, raised a thousand objections to our making even a temporary halt. These objections were urged with so much force, and the propriety of obeying their directions was illustrated by so many tales of treachery, that we felt ourselves obliged, however reluctantly, to submit to them, and continue our way. The magic of the picture around us was such, however, as frequently to arrest our steps, in order to prolong the enjoy-

ment of what we regretted to be so hastily torn away from beholding.

The village of Boorza, is seated on the brow of a hill facing towards the south-east, and commands before it, in that direction, a prospect which no language can adequately describe. It appeared to contain from forty to fifty dwellings of stone, and we learnt that the whole of the inhabitants were nominally Mohammedans, though they have among them neither a mosque nor a priest, nor do they trouble themselves about religion, any farther than maintaining the public profession of it. On an eminence to the right of the town, we noticed the ruins of an old castle, which occupied a commanding position, and proved this place to have been anciently a post of defence. We regretted our not being permitted by the guides to go up and examine this edifice; but as it would no doubt have collected all the people of the town about us, it was necessary to make this sacrifice of our wishes to secure our passing in tranquillity. The architecture of this citadel presented no peculiar features, except that it was strongly constructed of stone, and was of a square form.

In the enumeration of the cities of refuge which Moses set apart on the east side of Jordan toward the sun-rising, mention is made of Bezer in the wilderness; but this was in the plain

country of the Reubenites, while Ramoth was in Gilead of the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan of the Manassites * ; and Josephus further adds, that it was at the *borders* of Arabia. † There was, however, another city called Bosor, which was in the land of Gilead, near to the brook of Jabbok, and not far from the plain which is opposite to Scythopolis, on the west of Jordan, though this city itself was less than three days' journey east of it.

The relative position of this village of Boorza in the land of Gilead, and its vicinity to the brook of Jabbok, not far from being opposite to Scythopolis, and less than three days' journey east of the Jordan, are circumstances which render it highly probable that it marks the site of the last Bosor spoken of; and if the local resemblance of its being seated on a hill, and possessing a citadel, as well as the similarity of its present name to that of the ancient town, be considered, its claims will be numerous and well founded. This, however, will be best understood by an examination of the details.

In the history of the exploits of the Maccabees, in their wars against the enemies of the Jews, it is said,—

"As for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother

* Deut. iv. 43.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 7. s. 4.

Jonathan, they passed over the river of Jordan, and when they had gone three days' journey, they lit upon the Nabatheans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood, and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee, and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight; and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but journeyed in it to the garrison, where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines (to batter them), he had the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was

Maccabeus that was upon them, of whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight. But Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners, called Malle *, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom, and Bosor †, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

"But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if they came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he told them beforehand, 'if they come over it, we shall be beaten.' And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army and went in haste against Timotheus, his enemy, and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemy, and

* Maspha is the name given to this place in the Apocrypha, (1 Macc. v. 35.)

† Casphom, Maged, and Bosor, are the names in the Apocrypha, (1 Macc. v. 36.)

some of them opposed him, whom he slew; and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly. Some of these escaped, but others fled to what was called the Temple, at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves. But Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the Temple; and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

"When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea. But as soon as he was come to a city whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again), he sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city around, and besieged it; and lying round it by day and by night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it down, and so obtained a way through it. And the multitude of those that were slain

was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. * And departing hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army; for not one of the Jews were slain in these battles." †

The country of the Nabatheans was in Arabia Petrea, to the southward of the Lake Asphaltitis, and the name of Nabatheans was given generally to all the Arabs living between the heads of the Arabian and the Persian Gulf. But it is here said, that after they had gone three days' journey on the other side of Jordan, they met the Nabatheans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how the affairs of the land of Gilead stood, in which land, therefore, they probably were. Yet, from this

* "The reason why Bethshan was called Scythopolis, is well known from Herodotus, b. i. p. 105. and Syncellus, p. 214. That the Scythians, when they over-ran Asia in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it retained the name of Scythopolis, or the city of Scythians." — Note on Josephus.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 8. s. 3. 4. 5.

distance of three days, where he met these Nabatheans, Judas is said to have *returned* into the wilderness.* The writer of the Book of Maccabees says, Judas Maccabeus also, and his brother Jonathan, went over Jordan, and travelled three days. They then turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosora, which they took and burnt. It was after this that Bosor was taken, and this is expressly said to have been one of the cities of the land of Gilead.† What Josephus calls the *garrison*, in which the Jews were shut up, the writer of the Apocrypha calls the *fortress*, evidently of the town itself, and most probably this identical ruined citadel now seen here on the adjoining hill, and still retaining so appropriate a name.‡

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 8. s. 3. 4. 5.

† 1 Macc. v. 24. 28. and 36.

‡ The name is evidently a corruption of the original Hebrew one, Bosor, בָּצֹר munitio, vel vendemia, sive ablatio prohibitio: aut in angustia, vel tribulatione. Filius Suphafilii Heleni, 1 Par. vii. 28. Nomen item civitatis Moabitarum trans Jordanem orientem versus, ad solitudinem non nihil versentis. 1 Mac. v. 26.; Deut. iv. 43.; Jos. xx. 8. 1 Par. vi. 78. de tribu Ruben Levitis data. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 74.

بزل the present pronunciation of its name, signifies, in Arabic, a "wide open plain, without trees;" and this is a feature so perfectly at variance with that of the country in which this town and castle of Boorza is seated, as to prove that the name is not of Arabic origin, but a corruption of the Hebrew Bosor.

I can find no very determinate position assigned by the ancient geographers, either to Raphon or to Ephron. * If these were clearly ascertained, it might be more satisfactorily decided, whether the brook spoken of be the Jabbok or not. But the circumstance of this army of Judas Maccabeus arriving at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis, when they came over Jordan in their way to Mount Sion at Jerusalem, is unequivocal, and places it beyond doubt, that the place here spoken of is neither the Bezer on the *border* of Arabia, nor the Bozra of the Hauran, with which that has been sometimes confounded, but a Bosor here in Gilead, and, probably, on the spot where the present Boorza stands.

As we pursued our way from this village towards the north-east, going first up a gentle

* Ῥαφών. Nomen loci non longa à Carnaim, ad torrentem. —Ῥαφὰ, Josepho, urbs trans Jordanem sita. Reland. l. iii. p. 968. — עֶפְרוֹן Urbs in Benjamin, 2 Chron. xiii. 19. erat in regione trans Jordanica e regione Scythopolis, 1 Mac. v. 46. 52. — Reland. l. iii. p. 765.

Raphon, ραφὼν, medicina vel relaxatio aut gigas. D. civitas 1 Mac. v. 37."— Onomast. p. 260.

Ephron, עָפְרוֹן ἐφρων, pulvis, sive hinnulus, aut plumbeus. Filius Seor. Gen. xxiii. 8. à quo civitas in tribu Juda, 2 Par. xiii. 19.; 1 Mac. v. 6.— Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 118.

ascent beyond the town, and then descending toward a second valley, we overtook a small party of Bedouin Arabs, on foot. They were themselves returning to their emcampment; and as their tents were near, they invited us to follow them, and partake of their hospitality for the night, to which we readily assented.

We had not yet been an hour from Boorza, before we passed a large ruined building, called Deer el Ramjah, or the Convent of Ramza; but whether it has been a Christian establishment, a castle, caravansera, or some portion of a deserted settlement, we could not learn. Near it stood a stately and wide-spreading oak, which, like the rest of the oaks we had seen, was not an evergreen one, but had its leaves withered, and its boughs almost bare, while the greater portion of the other trees found here, were fresh in verdure. On the left of our road were said to be other ruins, on a hill there, called Jehaz, or Jejaz; but, strong as our desire was to visit these, it was thought to be risking too much to do so, and we were obliged to content ourselves with obtaining information of the existence only of such places as we could not ourselves examine, and of taking a hasty glance at those which lay immediately in our path.

From the want of an actual survey of the local

features of the two places, which could not be obtained at the distance at which we passed them, no details can be offered regarding them, except that the appearance of Ramza * was that of a large castellated enclosure built of stone, and standing on the side of a hill; and Jehaz was described to us as standing on somewhat higher ground, and being more like the ruins of a town than of a single building. These were, respectively, about a mile and a half on each side of us, as we passed; Ramza on the east, and Jejaz on the west, and the distance between them was, therefore, about three miles, being separated from each other by a sloping valley.

The place of Ramoth in Gilead is to be sought for here; and such details as we have regarding its position and local features, added to the resemblance of the name, afford great reason to believe, that the ruins at Ramza may be a portion of those belonging to that city, or, at least, mark the site on which it stood. This city was one of the chief in Gilead, and is called Ramoth Gilead, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. It is first mentioned as one of the cities of refuge set apart by Moses on the east of the Jordan, "unto which the slayer might flee who should kill his neighbour

* Pronounced indifferently رمزا Ramza, and رمثا Ramtha.

unawares, and hated him not in times past; and that, fleeing unto one of these cities, he might live." * It is there called, Ramoth, in Gilead, of the Gadites, and this distinction is repeated in another place. It is again mentioned in the history of the early wars, when it was the scene of a battle between the kings of Judah and Israel on the one side, and the king of Syria on the other, for the recovery of Ramoth Gilead, where Ahab the ruler of Israel was slain. † Josephus details the story of this battle more at large, but nothing can be collected from him regarding the actual site or relative position of this place, with regard to other known places, in bearing or distance. ‡

These deficiencies are supplied, but I know not on what authority, by St. Jerome, who fixes it at fifteen miles *west* of Philadelphia, or Ammon, and near to the Jabbok, in both of which particulars this place of Ramza agrees. §

* Deut. iv. 42. † 1 Kings, xxii. throughout.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 15. s. 5, 6.

§ רָאמוֹת In Gilead, quæ etiam Ramoth, ἀπλῶς. Urbs tribus Gad, Deut. iv. 43. Jos. xx. 8. Vicus fuit 15 miliaribus á Philadelphia, versus *occidentem*. Euseb. in Onom. Apud Hieronymum *male* legitur *orientem*. Fuisset enim extra fines terræ Israeliticæ, quæ ultra Philadelphiam orientem versus non protenditur. Idem mox scribit Ramoth Gileaditidis esse in Peræa juxta flumen Jaboc. — Reland, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. p. 966.

From its being placed in the tribe of Gad, D'Anville has given it a position more to the southward, though within about the distance specified from Ammon; but Cellarius, in whose map the course of the Jabbok is much more accurately delineated, has placed it in Gilead, just to the *north* of this stream, about the distance assigned to it from Ammon, and just in the spot on which the present Ramza stands. Whether the epithet of Deer, which means any large house, as well as a convent, was given to the large castellated ruin here, as a modern affix to it, or not, we could not learn; neither could we decide whether this large fortress-like edifice was itself a vestige of the old city of refuge, within the enclosure of which the man-slayer was safe from the vengeance of his pursuers, or the remains of any more modern building. *

What ancient city the ruins of Jejaz may mark, is not so easily determined. There was a Jahaz, at which the children of Israel fought against Sihon, king of the Amorites, because he would not let them pass through his border; but this was in the wilderness, or on the *borders* of the Arabian Desert, to the southward of the

*-Ramoth, רָאמוֹת, Deut. iv. 43. Jos. xx. 8. 1 Reg. 22, 3. 1 Par. vi. 73., videas montem, vel intuitis montis, vel *altitudines*. Eadem civitas quæ et Ramoth prior. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 259.

Dead Sea, and in the land of Moab; for it was not until Israel had smote him, Sihon, king of the Amorites, with the edge of the sword, that he possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, and dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the villages thereof.

There was, however, a Jabesh, which could not have been far from this spot, and, like Ramoth, was characterised by the addition of Gilead, as a distinctive appellation. This place is first mentioned in the story of the Lamentations that were made for the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin, and the difficulties that arose regarding marriages since they were cut off from among them. When the Israelites came to bewail this desolation of Benjamin in Mizpeh, they had made an oath that whoever came not up to the mourning should be put to death. On the numbering of the people, it was found that none of the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead were there, and, accordingly, twelve thousand of the valiantest of the assembly were ordered by the congregation to go and smite the inhabitants of this place with the edge of the sword, and to spare neither men, women, nor children.* The occasion of their meeting, was to mourn the loss of a tribe whom they had

* Judges, xxi. throughout.

themselves cut off from among them, by the slaughter of twenty-five thousand men, who drew the sword, and were all men of valour, leaving only a remnant of six hundred of the whole of the sons of Benjamin, who fled into the desert, and abode in the rock of Rimmon for four months. *

This Jabesh Gilead was afterwards the scene of a battle between Saul and the Ammonites, in which the latter were discomfited. Nahash, the leader of the Ammonites, had come up to encamp against this place, and on being asked to make a covenant, urged the strange condition of his being allowed to thrust out all the people's right eyes, which the men of Jabesh requested seven days' respite to consider of, during which time Saul came to their aid, and repelled their enemies.

At a future period, these men of Jabesh, whom he had delivered, had an opportunity to testify their gratitude. When the Philistine followed hard upon Saul, and the battle went sore against him in Mount Gilboa, Saul, and his armour-bearer, and his three sons, fell upon their swords, to avoid the disgrace of being slain by uncircumcised hands. The Philistines, when they came on the morrow to strip the slain, found them, and cut off the head of

* Judges, xx. 47.

Saul, and stripped off his armour, and sent it into the land of the Philistines round about, to publish it in the houses of their idols, and among the people. And they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth. And they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan. "And when the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days." *

We learn from this, that Beth-shan, or Scythopolis, was within a night's march from Jabesh, which fixes its position, within limits of tolerable accuracy on the *west*. Its distance, of six miles from Pella, towards Gerasa, will equally fix its limits on the *east*, as Pella is placed by all the authorities on the river

* 1 Samuel, xxxi. throughout.

יָבֵשׁ Urbs Gileaditis, unde sæpe יבשׁ גלעד dicitur Jud. xxi. 9. Jabeschitæ per totam noctem facto itinere cadavera Saulis et filiorum ejus e mœnibus urbis Bethsan abstulerunt et redierunt, 1 Sam. xxxi. 11. hinc judica de distantia harum urbium. Eusebius ad vocem Ἀρισὼθ et Ἰάβις testatur suo tempore fuisse vicum prægrandem hoc nomine trans Jordanem, 6 miliar. distantem Pella versus Gerasam. — Reland, lib. iii. p. 822.

Jabbok *, though it is much farther to the eastward in the map of Cellarius, than in that of D'Anville. In both of these, the distance of Pella from Gerasa corresponds pretty accurately with the thirty-five Roman miles assigned to it; but, in Cellarius, the places are nearly *east* and *west* of each other, and in D'Anville nearly *north* and *south*, though the same authorities for their respective positions were open to both. If to this agreement in point of relative distances, be added the resemblance of local feature in the present ruins of Jejaz, being seated on a hill or mountain, like that of the ancient Jabesh †, it will not be a forced presumption to consider it as at least probable that the ruins here may be those of the ancient town, and the present name only a corruption of the original one. ‡

The early writers, being rather historians than

* Près du Jabok étoit une ville de considération, sous le nom de Pella, que les Grecs de Syrie qui l'habitoient, lui avoit donné, à cause de sa situation environnée d'eaux, comme la ville Macedonienne de ce nom. — D'Anville, Geog. An. Perœa et Arabia.

† Jabis Galaad .... Nunc est vicus trans Jordanem in sexto miliario civitatis Pellæ, *super montem* euntibus Gerasa. Hieron. — Reland, l. ii. p. 493.

‡ Jabes Galaad יָבֵשׁ־גִּלְעָד siccitas, vel confusio acervi testimonii. Nomen civitatis. Judic. xxi. 8. 1 Sam. xi. 1. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 159.

geographers, afford, in some instances, such scanty materials for fixing the position of places spoken of by them, that great accuracy cannot be expected to be attained at this period. The resemblance of names, the correspondence of local features, and the existence of ruins on any particular spot, may be therefore considered as of as much weight in determining questions of this nature, as the estimate of distances, which from being given in figures, are always liable to corruption. But when all these circumstances nearly agree, the evidence may be received as the most conclusive now within our reach.

We continued our way from between the ruins of Deer-el Ramza and Jejaz, still towards the north-east, admiring, as before, the beauty of the country on all sides. The prospects around us made us credit all that has been said of the ancient populousness of this district; and while we felt the difficulty, in many instances, of identifying ancient positions with the perfect correspondence of all the requisite data, we conceived it highly probable that one place might be sometimes taken for another, in a kingdom of so confined an extent, yet so thickly spread over with populous towns and villages, and in which are said to have existed threescore cities. *

* "The son of Geber, in Ramoth Gilead: to him pertained the towns of Jair, the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead, to

At sunset we reached the camp of the Bedouins, whom we had joined on our way, and were received there with their accustomed hospitality. It was carried so far in the present instance, as even to occasion a contention among the Arabs themselves, as to which of them should furnish the necessary corn for our horses. A lamb was killed for us, and all the members of the camp assembled around our evening party in the Sheikh's tent, to entertain us, and to assure us of our welcome among them. Our conversation was sufficiently varied; but though our destination for Damascus was spoken of, our intention to halt at Jerash was studiously concealed, and at midnight we lay down to sleep.

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him also pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, threescore great cities, with walls and brazen bars." 1 Kings, iv. 13.

CHAP. XX.

FROM THE ARAB CAMP TO JERASH.

January 31st. We quitted our station at an early hour, and, after leaving the camp, passed again through a rich and beautiful country. It was about an hour after our first setting out that we came to another torrent, in a deep ravine, the stream of which was called Nahr-el-Zebeen. The ford at which we crossed it was scarcely more than ten yards wide, and here the banks were covered with rushes, planes, and oleanders. It appeared to us to be only a more northern portion of Zerkah or the Jabbok, which we had already passed over once; but this the Arabs contradicted, though they said that, like Zerkah, it mingled its waters with those of the Jordan, and ran together with them into the Dead Sea.

In ascending from the valley of this stream, and going up its steep northern bank, we were shown what appeared to us to be a tower, with a wall and portions of ruined edifices near. This place was called Zebeen, and gave its name

to the torrent below. It was said to have been an old Christian settlement; but, as we were not permitted to turn aside to see it, we could not determine with accuracy either its age or character.

We were here interrupted and thrown into a momentary alarm, by the pursuit of two horsemen, who came galloping over the brow of the hill behind us, commanding us with a loud voice, and in an authoritative tone, to halt and give an account of ourselves. Though we considered ourselves to be in a strange and almost an enemy's country, we were not, however, in a condition to yield to the menaces of so small a force. We therefore replied to their challenge in a tone equally haughty with their own, and refused to satisfy them either from whence we had come or whither we were going; so that they soon desisted from their pursuit and left us.

In continuing our way to the north-east, we still went through a beautifully fertile country; and, after passing three or four ruined buildings of considerable size on the road, we came about ten o'clock into a charming valley, from whence we obtained the first sight of the ruins of Jerash.

We approached the remains of this city on the southern side, and saw, at first, a triumphal

gateway, nearly entire. * The architecture of this was not of the most chaste kind, though the masonry was good. It bore a striking resemblance to the work seen in the ruined city of Antinoë, in Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile. On each side of the large central arch of this gateway, which was wide enough for chariots, there was a smaller one for foot-passengers, and over each of these was an open square window. The front of the whole bore four columns, which were placed one on each side of the smaller arched passages, and one in each of the intervals between these and the large central one. These columns were of a small diameter, and constructed of many separate pieces of stone; their pedestals were of a square form, but tall and slender; on each of these was placed a design of leaves, resembling very nearly a Corinthian capital without the volutes; on this again arose the shaft, which was plain, and composed of many small pieces, but as all the columns were broken near their tops, the crowning capitals were not seen. The pediment and frieze were also destroyed, but enough of the whole remained to give an accurate idea of the original design, and to prove that the order of the architecture was Corinthian.

* No. 1. in the General Plan.

A TRIUMPHAL GATEWAY AND RUINS OF JERASH.

After passing through this first gateway, we came upon the fragments of its own ruins within; but seeing no vestiges of walls connected with the gate itself on either side, we concluded that this was an isolated triumphal arch, placed here for the passage of some hero, on his way to the entrance of the city.

Just within this gateway, on the left, we next observed a fine naumachia, for the exhibition of sea-fights. * This was of an oblong shape, with its southern end straight, and its northern end of a semicircular form. It was constructed of fine masonry, smooth within, but having the rustic projections without, and being finished on the top with a large moulding, wrought in the stone. The channels for filling this naumachia with water were still visible, and the walls within were from six to eight feet deep, though level with the soil without; but as this space was now used as a field on which corn was actually growing, it is probable that the soil had accumulated progressively there, and that the original depth was much greater.

Passing onward amid heaps of ruined fragments, we came next to a second gateway, exactly similar in design to the triumphal one without, but connected here on both sides with

* No. 2. in the General Plan.

the wall of the city, to which it formed the entrance. *

Leaving the triumphal arch and naumachia, we entered into the city through this its southern gate; and, on turning to the left, and passing by a raised platform of masonry, which supported the front of a peripteral temple †, we came into a large and beautiful circular colonnade, of the Ionic order, surmounted by an architrave. ‡ Above the temple, on our left, was an open theatre, facing to the north §; but of this, as well as of the temple itself, we could catch but a momentary glance before we were obliged to return to the straight path.

We could now perceive a long avenue of columns, leading in a straight line for a considerable distance beyond the circular colonnade, and appearing to mark the direction of some principal street that led through the whole length of the city. On entering this street, we perceived that the columns were all of the Corinthian order, the range on each side of the street being ascended to by a flight of steps. The proportions of the pillars seemed chaste; they were without pedestals, and their plain shafts swelled in diameter from the base towards the centre, and then tapered away towards the capital.

* No. 3. in the General Plan.
† No. 4. in ditto.
‡ No. 5. in ditto.
§ No. 6. in ditto.

Passing onward through this street, and climbing over huge masses of fallen columns and masonry, we noticed four columns on each side of the way, of much greater height and larger diameter than the rest, but, like all the others, supporting only an entablature, and probably standing before the front of some principal edifice now destroyed.

Beyond this we came to a square, formed by the first intersection of this principal street by one crossing it at right angles, and like it too apparently once lined on both sides by an avenue of columns. At this point of intersection were four square masses of smooth masonry, in the nature of very large pedestals. These had in each of their fronts a niche for a statue, which was concave at the back, arched at the top, and crowned there by a beautiful fan or shell neatly sculptured. On the top of these large square pedestals, appeared to have once stood small Corinthian columns, the shafts and capitals of which now lay scattered below, so that they might have been bases of peristyles.

Continuing still onward, and passing the fragment of a solid wall on our left, which had formed part of the front of some large edifice, we came to a portion of a temple of a semicircular form, with four columns in front, facing the principal street, and falling in a line with it.

The spring of its half-dome was still remaining, as well as several yellow marble columns, and a fragment of a column of red granite. The whole seemed to have been executed with peculiar care, and we though the sculpture of its friezes, cornices, pediments, capitals, &c., which were all of the Corinthian order, as rich and chaste as the works of the first ages. Around the frieze of the interior was an inscription, of which we could not be allowed time to take an accurate copy.

On a broken altar, near to the ruin, we observed another inscription, which we were not suffered to examine minutely, although we could make out the name of Marcus Aurelius very distinctly at the beginning of it. Beyond this again, we had temples, colonnades, theatres, arched buildings with domes, detached groups of Ionic and Corinthian columns, bridges, aqueducts, and portions of large buildings scattered here and there in our way*, none of which we could examine with any degree of attention, from the restraint under which our guides had placed us.

After passing in this hurried way, through the greater part of the town, and arriving nearly at the further extreme from that at which we

* Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11. 13. 15. 18. of the General Plan.

had entered it, we turned down to water our horses at a stream in the valley*; and assembled our party, so as to preserve the appearance of really being passengers merely halting by the way, on our road to Damascus.

While the guides and our servants were taking some refreshment, Mr. Bankes and I ascended to a convenient spot where we could both conceal ourselves from the sight of passengers below; and while Mr. Bankes was employed in taking a hasty sketch of the whole view as it appeared from hence, I caught the opportunity of throwing together the recollections of our route from Jerusalem thus far, as not a moment had yet offered itself from the time of our leaving that city, in which it would have been safe to have written, or to have excited curiosity by the appearance of such unusual things as pen and paper.

Having done this, Mr. Bankes made a second excursion with the guides, and I remained to keep the impatience of the rest in play, to answer questions from passengers, and to prolong our stay to the last possible moment.

After this momentary glance over these interesting and magnificent ruins, we were obliged to hurry off in a state of mind not easily

* No. 14. of the General Plan.

described; delighted and surprised by what we had come so dangerous a journey to behold, and tormented by regret at the necessity of catching a mere sight of them, and of quitting the spot, as we then thought, most probably for ever.

Having passed the northern wall of the city, which appeared to us to be at least a mile apart from its southern gate of entrance *, the whole space between being covered with the ruins of splendid buildings, we ascended a steep hill, and, in about a quarter of an hour, came to the Necropolis. We saw here some few grottoes only, but in the course of our way, we remarked nearly a hundred sarcophagi of stone, all of them now above ground. Most of these were ornamented on the sides with sculptured shields; they were of oblong forms, straight at the sides and ends, made of a grey lime-stone, and about the size of the human form in the hollow space, and from two to three inches in thickness. We saw only one cover perfect, which was pent-roofed, and had the section of a globe at each corner in the Roman style. Many of these sarcophagi were broken, and some reversed; but all appeared to have been dragged up from the earth by force, as they lay

* Both marked No. 3. in the General Plan.

in heaps sometimes one on another. They were probably thought to contain hidden treasures, and were thus ransacked by the Saracens.

In our way up this steep hill, we found near the Necropolis, the remains of a small temple with columns, which we could not turn out of our road to examine; and still further on, we noticed the walls and dwellings of a village which were well built, and apparently the works of a distant age.

We turned round here to enjoy a last look on the splendid ruins we had left so abruptly, and so unwillingly too, and were charmed beyond description with the magnificent scene which it presented. The city standing itself on a rising ground, seemed from this point of view to be seated in the hollow of a grand and deep valley, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains now covered with verdure, and having part of its own plain below in actual cultivation. Near to where we stood was the ruined village already spoken of, and on the summit of the southern hill which bounded the view in that quarter, stood the modern village of Aioode, having a central tower and walls, and forming the retreat of the husbandmen who till the grounds in the valley beneath. The circular colonnade, the avenues of Corinthian pillars forming the grand

street, the southern gate of entrance, the naumachia, and the triumphal arch beyond it, the theatres, the temples, the aqueducts, the baths, and all the assemblage of noble buildings which presented their vestiges to the view from hence, seemed to indicate a city built only for luxury, for splendour, and for pleasure; although it was a mere colonial town in a foreign province, distant from the capital of the great empire to which it belonged, and scarcely known either in sacred or profane history.

It would be in vain to attempt a picture of the impressions which followed such a sight. We were considered by our guides to be in danger, and self-preservation pushed us on, while the change of scenery and the occupation of the mind on the necessary cares of the way, served to bring it back to its original state of calm.

We continued, from the summit of this northern mountain, to descend gradually, and passed again through an interesting and well-wooded country, arriving in about an hour and a half at the village of Soof, where our halt was fixed for the night.

We were received here in a sort of public room by the Sheikh of the village, but instantly perceived the marked difference between the

hospitality of the Bedouins and the cultivators; for here not a stick of firewood was to be had without payment for it before-hand.

As the sun was not yet set, we left our guides to manage with the villagers for our supplies, and walked out for half an hour, though obliged to do even this with extreme caution, as all eyes were upon us.

The village of Soof stands on the brow of a steep hill, on the S. W. of a deep ravine. It possesses several marks of having been the site of some more ancient and considerable town, having large blocks of stone, with mouldings, sculpture, &c. worked into the modern buildings; and on the opposite hill, on the other side of the ravine, are seen the walls of an edifice apparently of the Roman age. There are also remains of two small square towers, apparently of Saracenic work, the masonry being good, and there being loop-holes for arrows in the walls.

The town of Soof contains from forty to fifty dwellings, and nearly five hundred inhabitants, including those of all ages and both sexes. The Sheikh of it is responsible to the Pasha of Damascus, and pays him tribute. The men are not only rigid but bigoted Mohammedans, and of a surly and forbidding temper, as far as we had yet seen of them. Their grounds around

are cultivated with corn, and both the olive and the vine flourish in abundance, furnishing them with oil from the former, and grapes and dried raisins from the latter, wine being unknown among them.

Some women having noticed our writing, during the secrecy of our walk, circulated a report of the fact, and insisted on knowing what we were about. We were fortunate in being able to persuade them that we were Turks, and repeating the formula, "B'ism illah, er Rahman er Rahheem," assured them that we were merely employed in writing a prayer on the appearance of the new moon, after the manner of the faithful.

When we returned from our ramble, we found a large party assembled in the public room, and we exchanged with them the salute of Islam. We were not long seated, before close enquiries began to be pressed upon us, and we felt every hour more uneasy at their tendency. We sought our safety, however, in reserve; and as the party was numerous, we contrived, amidst the mixture of prayers, and wrangling, and dispute, and imprecation, to keep ourselves undiscovered.

February 1st. The day broke in heavy rains, and our Bedouin guides refused to proceed, as the horses were already wearied, and shelter could not always be commanded on the road.

The desire of Mr. Bankes and myself to revisit the ruins of Jerash was equally strong; and since all our endeavours were not sufficient to prevail on our guides to brave the weather, we determined on stealing to the ruins in the interval, at all risks which it might involve.

As it was impossible, however, to absent ourselves from so enquiring a company, without being noticed, some motive was necessary to be assigned, and it luckily happened that one really presented itself of sufficient force to be admitted. On the preceding day, while writing the notes of our route from Jerusalem to Jerash, beneath a rock, I had left a knife behind me, and it was professedly under the hope of finding this that we set out on foot to go a journey of two full hours over a steep and rugged road, and amid a heavy rain, which threatened long continuance.

We were accompanied by one of our guides only, to whom a pair of boots was promised for his pains, and by a man of the village with his musket, to whom half a dollar was to be given at his return. We were wet through, as might have been expected, long before we reached the spot; but the grand view of Geraza, from the northern heights which overlooked its splendid ruins, was even in the mist that half obscured them, sufficient of itself to repay our toils.

We descended now by another road, to avoid

passing immediately through the site of the city, keeping on its western edge, and passed there an extension of the Necropolis, through which we had gone on the preceding day; the form, the size, and the sculptured ornaments of the sarcophagi, were still the same, and there were certainly more than fifty of them now above the ground. They lay together in heaps, and seemed, like the rest, to have been dragged up from the earth with violence, as many of them were broken, and others reversed.

Notwithstanding the violence of the rains, which had reduced the parched earth to a state of mud, and rendered the ploughed lands almost impassable, the peasantry were all out, either at the plough or scattering seed, the labour of husbandry being already too much retarded by the late long drought to admit of an hour being lost. This was most unfortunate for us, as we necessarily passed several of them, and attracted the more notice, from being on foot in such unseasonable weather.

At length we reached the back of the southern theatre, and descending into it by one of the regular doors, sought a moment's shelter and repose in the covered passage which led to the seats. Even here, we were visited by one of the old peasants from the fields, who insisted that we were come to take away the hidden treasures

of the genii who had built these palaces and castles. We replied, that, being on our way from Egypt to Constantinople, we were desirous of carrying to the Sultan, (whom all the faithful reverenced as the head of Islam,) some account of so wonderful a place as Jerash, of which he had never yet heard; and we begged that he, as a true Mohammedan, would implore the blessing of God upon our labours. The man was rather confounded than satisfied, and soon began to grow impatient; but we contrived to bribe him to stay, fearing that, by leaving us, he might communicate our being here to his fellows, and occasion our further interruption.

Mr. Bankes now prepared to draw from hence a view of the interior of the theatre, including chiefly its front and scene, being completely sheltered from the rain, as well as from sight, by the arched covering of the passage under which he stood; and in the meantime I employed myself in measuring the principal features of this building, in laying down, by compass, from an overlooking eminence, the relative positions of the principal edifices, and in forming as accurate a ground-plan of the whole as the unfavourable circumstances of the moment would admit.

When Mr. Bankes had finished his drawing, the two Arabs became impatient to return

to Soof, and the third to see the treasure opened. The rain still continued with increasing violence, and nothing could be set on paper without being under the shelter of some portion of building, as even our inner clothes were as wet as our outer ones, and nothing could be done under them.

We set out together, however, from the theatre to the southern gate of entrance, and paced the whole of the way from thence to the northern gate and wall, examining, cursorily, all the buildings in the way, and forming from it the ground-plan on a separate sheet, as well as collecting the following observations of a general nature on the city itself.

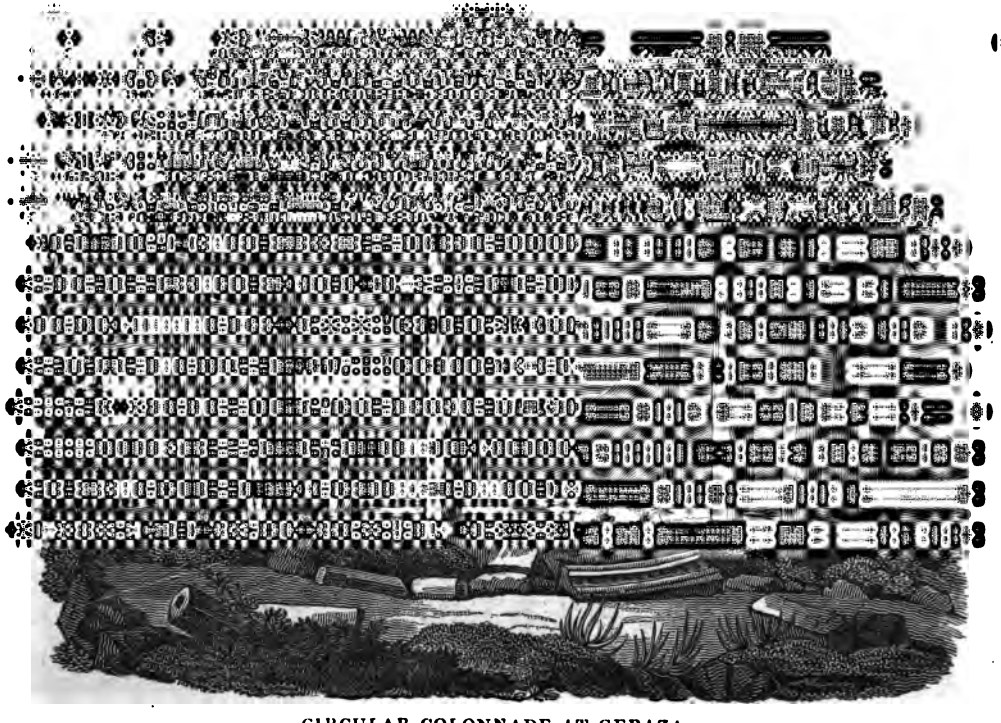
CHAP. XXI.

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT GERAZA.

THE geographical position and relative bearing and distance of this place, from other established and well-known points, will be best seen from the map of our route, which has been constructed with great care, and that portion of it, which includes the country east of the Jordan, laid down entirely from our own journey through it.

The city occupied nearly a square of somewhat less than two English miles in circumference; and the greatest length, from the ruined arched building on the south of the first entrance, to the small temple on the north of the opposite one, is about five thousand feet, as measured by paces, or nearly an English mile. The general direction of this square is, with its sides, nearly towards the four cardinal points; but none of these sides are perfectly straight, probably from the inequality of the ground along which they run.

The city stood on the facing slopes of two



CIRCULAR COLONNADE AT GERAZA.

opposite hills, with a narrow but not a deep valley between them, through which ran a clear stream of water springing from fountains near the centre of the town, and bending its way thence to the southward.

The eastern hill, though rather more extensive in its surface than the western one, rises with a steeper slope, and is consequently not so well fitted for building on. We found it covered with shapeless heaps of rubbish, evidently the wreck of houses, as the walls of some of them were still visible; but as neither columns nor other vestiges of ornamental building were to be seen among these, we concluded that this portion of the city was chiefly inhabited by the lower orders of the people.

The whole surface of the western hill is covered with temples, theatres, colonnades, and ornamental architecture, and was no doubt occupied by the more dignified and noble of the citizens. The general plan of the whole was evidently the work of one founder, and must have been sketched out before the Roman city, as we now see it in its ruins, began to be built. The walls of the city were as nearly equal in length, and faced as nearly to the four cardinal points as the nature of the ground would admit.

The eastern portion was chosen for the residence of the great mass of the people; first,

from its being of more extensive surface; and next, from its being less adapted to the erection of fine buildings, or the production of architectural effect. The western portion was devoted purely to the grandeur of display and decoration, and the regularity of its arrangement is no less striking than the number of splendid edifices crowded together in so small a space.

One straight and spacious street extends through the whole length of the city, from north to south, ending at the gates of these respective quarters, there being only these two now remaining; nor are there, indeed, any conclusive appearances of there ever having been any other than these two entrances into the city.

This main street is intersected, at nearly equal distances of one fourth of its length from each gate, by two other streets, which cross it at right angles, and extend through the whole breadth of this western portion of the city, the point of intersection in each being ornamented with a public square.

From each of these intersections to their respectively nearest gate, the order of architecture that prevailed was Ionic; but in the central space, between these intersections, and including a length equal to half that of the whole city, the predominant order was Corinthian.

In the centre, or nearly so, of this central space was a noble palace, probably the residence of the Governor, with a beautiful Corinthian temple in front, and another more ruined one behind, in right lines with it; and the semicircular recess of a still more highly-finished temple beside it. In a line with these edifices, and on the east of them, was a bridge crossing the small stream in the valley. In a line with the first or southern street of intersection was another bridge, and nearly in a line with the northern street, and also on the east of it, was a very extensive bath.

Just within the southern gate of entrance, was a peripteral temple, a circular colonnade, and a theatre; and just within the northern gate of entrance was also a theatre, a temple, and a military guard-house. Both the principal street extending the whole length of the city, and those which crossed it and ran through its breadth, were lined by avenues of columns extending in one unbroken range on each side, and ascended to by steps.

There were also other edifices scattered in different parts of the city, which will be seen in examining the plan; but the whole was remarkable for the regularity and taste of its design, no less than for its able and perfect execution.

Between those two hills on which the whole city thus stood, was the narrow valley before mentioned. At its upper or northern end it became so confined as to constitute a difficult pass; and it was near to this part that the military guard-house stood to command it. Below this, to the southward, was a large Corinthian temple on the plain; still farther down in this valley, or near the centre of its whole enclosed length, was the source of a beautifully clear spring, around which had been erected fountains and other appropriate works. Still to the south of this, was another large bath, consisting of many apartments, and having many fallen columns near it; and almost opposite to this were the bridge before spoken of, and an aqueduct which crossed the stream on arches. The stream then pursued its course to the southward, until it passed beneath the city walls there, and followed afterwards the general direction of the valley.

Such were the outline features of this interesting city; but it will be perhaps worth a more minute description. This can be best made by following up the order in which the edifices presented themselves to us on our first visit; and this, too, will furnish just occasion to preserve the first impressions which the sight of these edifices respectively made, corrected,

when necessary, by those of our subsequent examination.

The outer or southernmost building was unquestionably a triumphal arch *, and, as such, stood quite unconnected with any wall, and lay in the direct line to the city-gate, for the passage of processions through it on approaching the city from the southward. The style of its architecture has been already particularly detailed; the whole length of its front is forty paces, or about eighty feet. †

It consists of three arched passages, the central one of which is about thirty feet in height within, and twenty feet broad; and the two side ones about twenty feet in height, and ten feet broad; the length of all the passages being the same, and measuring about twenty feet, so that the central one is a square below, and the side ones of an oblong form.

In a direction of S. by W. from this triumphal arch, and at the distance of about three hundred yards, are the remains of a ruined building, of which nothing is now seen but some portions of excellent masonry, and arches of the Roman form. Sufficient of the edifice does not remain,

* No. 1. of the General Plan.

† The measurements were all made by short paces, and these were found, on taking an average of one hundred of them, to be about two English feet each.

however, to decide on its nature or its original use.

To the S. S. E., at about one hundred and fifty yards' distance from the triumphal arch, and beyond the limits of the plan, are about twenty sepulchral caves hewn down in the rock. They are now open and destitute of sarcophagi within, though some of these are found on the outside, dragged from their original silence, and violated, broken, and destroyed. These sepulchral caves are seen on the brows of both the hills here, with the stream of water and the valley between them, and facing respectively to the eastward and to the westward. Those which are on the eastern hill are near the very edge of the low cliff there, and face toward the west; but these are mostly broken and injured by their exposed situation.

Those on the western hill are more perfect, the passage into them being cut obliquely down through the earth on a gentler slope. Some of these caverns are large within, but all are of rude workmanship; several of them have been recently used for dwellings, or places of temporary shelter, as small fences and marks of fireplaces remain to be seen.

The small ruined building which is within the triumphal arch on the E. N. E., is of a square form, and has some few shafts of columns near

it, both erect and fallen; but it presents nothing remarkable in its construction, nor is its original use easily conjectured.

The naumachia is about seven hundred feet in length, and three hundred in breadth, preserving nearly an oblong form. * At the southern, or lower end, the wall is straight, and at right angles with the sides; but at the northern, or upper end, the form is semicircular. The depth now visible below the upper edge of the masonry, which is itself level with the soil without and around it, is about eight feet; but as there has been, for many ages, an accumulation of soil, by the yearly deposit of water and decay of vegetable matter in this reservoir, there is now a cultivated piece of ground within it. The masonry of the sides of this naumachia is of the most uniform and excellent kind; the inner face is smooth, and the outer, or that presented to the soil behind it, preserves the projections of the rustic manner. The upper edge is neatly finished with a moulding, but there are no appearances of seats or benches for the spectators, who must therefore have witnessed the exhibition from one common level above.

The two channels for filling it with water are still perfect, and led into it from about equal

* No. 2. of the General Plan.

distances on the eastern side, as marked in the plan. Above that part of the city wall under which the stream runs, and where the wall makes an elbow to fall into a line with the city-gate, one branch of the stream is carried over the brow of the western hill, to conduct a portion of the waters to the channels for filling the naumachia; and another continues along the side of the same western hill, going to the southward for some purpose that we did not trace; while the main body of the stream runs in the valley below, descending progressively to a deeper bed. But these two channels, which here lead to separate destinations, unite only from the arched aqueduct, a little southward of the bridge, running from thence along the side of the western hill, and preserving its original level; while the bed of the valley gradually slopes downward to the south. On the brow of the opposite or eastern hill, still without the walls of the town, is seen also a channel which conveys water, even at the present time, to some part more southerly, which we did not however trace to its end.

The intention of placing this naumachia immediately within the triumphal arch, and exactly in the line of march from thence to the principal entrance of the city, was perhaps for the exhibition of some naval shows, illustrative of the exploits of the person honoured with the

triumph, and for whom both the arch and the naumachia were probably expressly constructed. It is easy to suppose that it might have been a triumph given to some hero who had distinguished himself in a battle on the sea of Galilee or the lake of Tiberias, since there were many sea-fights there between the Jews and the Romans; but the details of the history of this city are so scanty, that no particular instance of such triumph is known to me as being on record.

It may be observed, that the building here assumed to be a naumachia could not have been a circus, or a hippodromus: first, because it is evidently too much sunk beyond the common level for such a place; next, because water could not have been necessary to be supplied to it in streams by aqueducts, if this were the purpose to which it was applied; and, lastly, because there is no visible appearance in any part of it, though its wall is still perfect all around, of any place of descent for either horses or chariots, or even of steps for the descent of footmen.

To the north-west of the naumachia, on a higher part of the hill, distant from two to three hundred yards, and beyond the limits of the plan, are a great number of sarcophagi, reversed, broken, and scattered about, but evidently not

far from their original place, so that one of the portions of the necropolis of this city must have been here. These sarcophagi are all of the black basaltic stone, and mostly sculptured with Roman devices; but among them there are none remarkable for superior elegance in their execution.

In a direction of N.N.W. from the naumachia, also on the hill, and still without the city-walls, are the remains of a Corinthian work, which offered nothing remarkable in its construction; and this completed all that fell within our notice on the outside of the city to the south of it.

On entering the city itself, by its southern gate, the passage is difficult, from the gateway being buried in its own ruins. Enough of it remains, however, to show the general design of three arched passages, as in the triumphal arch without; and the order of architecture in both is the same. The walls of the city are here plainly to be traced, connected with the gate on both sides, going from it upward on the west over the rising ground, and descending from it on the east to go down over the brow of the hill, and lastly ascending from thence over the steep slope of the opposite or eastern hill.

On passing within this gate, the attention is

suddenly arrested by the beautiful group of buildings which appear on the left, consisting of a peripteral temple, a theatre, and a circular colonnade. From the suddenness of the charm which this produces on the beholder, the actual deviation from a right line is not at all perceived, nor were we even aware of such an irregularity, until the relative positions and bearings of every object came to be set down on paper, in the delineation of the general plan. The spectator walks forward, unconscious of such a deviation; and this illusion, which at first is principally caused by the splendour of the whole view, is considerably assisted by the front wall of the platform of masonry, built to support the foundations of the peripteral temple above it, and partly, perhaps, to aid the effect. As this wall is perfectly parallel with the direction of the line of movement in going toward the colonnade, and the view is directed to the centre of this great circle, the deception is completed on arriving there by a magnificent prospect of the principal street, which is lined by a continued avenue of columns, extending to the opposite gate of the city on the north. Nothing could be more ingenious than this contrivance to hide an irregularity of plan. The nature of the ground seems not to have admitted the placing the gates of the city

immediately opposite to each other, and having the street between them in a right line; but this defect is so happily veiled, that, I believe, many persons might enter it at one end, and quit it at the other, without at all perceiving it.*

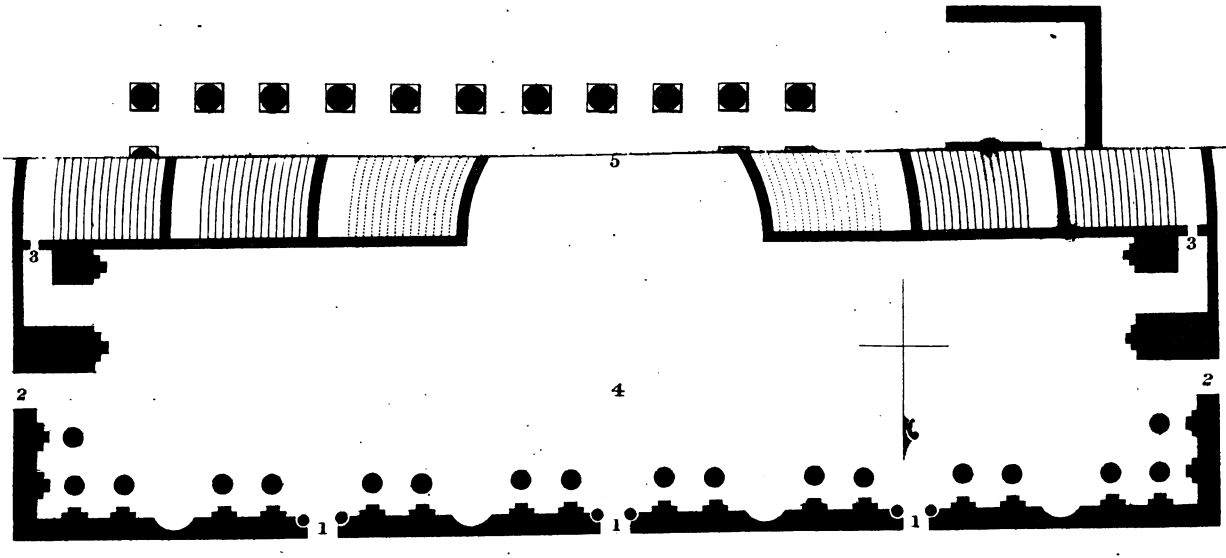
The peripteral temple, which is the first building on entering the city from the south, stands on very elevated ground, and seems almost to hang on the brow of the hill. To support its foundations, and to extend the level space in front of it, a long pier of masonry has been constructed, which forms a sort of platform before the edifice, and on this is seen a small square building, with fragments of arched-work near it, the use of which is not apparent.†

The form of this temple is an oblong square, the front of which faces exactly E. by N. by compass. At this front stood a noble portico, formed by a double row of eight columns. Around the rest of the edifice was a single row

* A similarly ingenious arrangement, for concealing a deviation from a right line, is found in the beautiful temple of Philoë, at the Cataracts of the Nile, as is well delineated and illustrated by Denon, in his plans of the edifices on that island; and at Palmyra too, those accurate observers, Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, noticed a gate-way which was so contrived, as that the two fronts faced at right angles with the respective streets which led from them, though these streets were not in one right line, as may be seen in their superb drawings and plans of the ruins there.

† No. 4. of the General Plan.

PERIPTERAL TEMPLE AT GERAZA.



Scale of Feet.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Engraved by Sid.t Hall.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, August 1821.

of similar columns, eleven in number, on each side. In each side-wall, about half way up its height, were nine niches, answering to the intervals formed by the intercolumniation of the surrounding colonnade; and seven of these nine were still perfect. Whether they were intended to ornament the wall, or to contain statues, did not appear; but they presented nothing remarkable in their design. The masonry was everywhere smooth, and the outer frieze and cornice of the building was quite plain.

On entering this temple, nothing is seen but plain walls of smooth and good masonry, as on the outside, excepting that on each of the sides are seven pilasters, placed at equal distances, and reaching all the height of the building. Two of them, on each wall, are injured, and five of them are still perfect. The dimensions of the temple within are thirty paces long by twenty broad. The principal door of entrance is that through the portico opening to the E. by N.; but it had, besides, a smaller door of entrance in the side wall, near the N. E. angle of the building, and opening to the N. N. W.

On each side the great door-way of the eastern front, were two fan-topped concave niches, corresponding with those on the sides, and, like them, facing the interval between the inner row of the columns of the portico; but no

mention is made in our notes on the spot of any such niches in the back or western wall. There are no remains of either pediment or roof, and there are, certainly, not sufficient fragments or rubbish within the temple to be considered as the wreck formed by its falling in. Whether it had originally been a covered or an open temple we could not, therefore, decide.

Just above this building, to the westward, and still on higher ground, is a beautiful theatre, pressing close against the city wall, and opening exactly towards the north. This edifice, as may be seen by the annexed plan of it, was of a semicircular form, the seats for the spectators being ranged around the interior of the circular part, the arena before them in the centre, and the stage beyond that in front, with a closed scene.*

The front of this theatre, as measured by paces on the outer face of its scene, was about one hundred and twenty feet; and from the lowest seat of the semicircle, across the arena and stage, to the central door of the scene, just eighty feet. The seats are arranged in two divisions, now visible above ground, and those contain each fifteen rows of benches; but there

* No. 5. of the General Plan, shows the position of this theatre.

is great reason to believe, from the accumulation of rubbish in the arena, that another similar division of seats is now hidden beneath it. These divisions were separated by a space for walking, formed by an interval equal to the breadth of two ranges of seats, and this space facilitated the passage of the spectators from one part of the theatre to the other. The lowermost of the two divisions now visible, was intersected by three flights of steps, in the form of rays, and placed at equal distances, the central one running up the whole height of both divisions, with a break at the passage between them; and the two others ending at that passage, without being continued in the same line above it. The upper division had, however, seven such flights of *cunei*, as they were called; the central one forming a continuation of that below, and being wider than the others, with a low balustrade on each side; and the other flights similar to the two smaller ones in the lower division, and placed three on each side at equal intervals.

Entering upon this platform of separation between the two divisions of benches described, which platform is just four feet in breadth, there are four door-ways, about equidistant from the ends of the semicircle, from the central flight of steps, and from each other. These doors were

the terminations of arched passages running through the theatre, and going beneath the upper seats, as they led inward from the outer part of the semicircular wall. It was by these passages that the audience entered from without; and on coming upon this platform they could walk conveniently along it, until they were opposite to any particular part of the theatre desired, and either ascend to the higher or descend on the lower division of seats by the flights of steps already mentioned. For the ascent there were, as will be seen in the plan, seven distinct flights, while for the descent there were but three. The audience had, therefore, never occasion to pass through the arena, or open central space below, nor in any way to approach near to the stage.

The interior of the closed front, or scene, presented a great richness of effect, from the lavish decoration and profusion of architectural ornament which was displayed there. The order observed throughout was Corinthian. The accumulation of rubbish, added to the fallen fragments of its own ruins, has occasioned the pavement of the stage to be entirely covered; and even the door-ways are some of them buried nearly up to their architraves. But still enough is seen to trace the design of the whole.

In this scene there are three doors, placed at about equal distances from each other, and from

the angles of the building in front. The central door is square at the head, and is the largest of the three; the two others, one on each side of it, are arched. There are four niches placed, one between, and one on the sides of each of the three doors. The two nearest the angles of the building have triangular pediments, and are highly ornamented.

A range of columns extends along the interior of the front, or facing toward the audience; and, with reference to them, behind the stage, or between the stage and the scene. The intercolumniation of these is irregular, from their being made to leave the interval, opposite the front doors, clear. They are, therefore, disposed in four divisions, of four pillars each. These cover the space of wall in which the niches are; the niches being seen through the intercolumniation of the two central pillars of each. Behind each of these rows of four pillars, are four pilasters, corresponding in order, size, and position, and placed, like the columns, two beside each niche. In addition to this, there is, on both sides of each of the three front doors, a smaller Corinthian column, standing in a sort of recess. Some of these columns do not want much of their full proportion of height, as measured by their diameters; though the doors beside which they stand are, as was before said, buried nearly

up to their architraves. These, at first sight, produced the impression that the architect had observed, in this scene, what is called order upon order, or the erection of a story of one order of architecture over another of a different one. There were no other appearances that corroborated or confirmed this suspicion, however, so that the pedestals on which these columns stood must either have been unusually high, or they rose from a surbasement, or something similar, beneath. It would have been an interesting task, had we possessed the means and time to effect it, to have cleared away the whole of the rubbish down to the very pavement of the stage. It occurred to Mr. Bankes, that, notwithstanding the ruin of some parts of this edifice, it was, perhaps, on the whole, the most perfect Roman theatre now remaining in the world. He had himself seen all those of Italy; and in Greece we know how much they are destroyed; and he remembered none so perfect as this, more particularly as to these most interesting parts, its stage and scene. The complete examination of this would, therefore, have thrown much light on the nature of such structures among the Romans, and would have helped us to understand more, perhaps, of their stage management, of scenery, entrance, exit, &c. than we now know. We even thought it probable, that some

of the statues which once filled the niches above, might be found in a tolerably perfect state on clearing away this rubbish; as if we sought out causes to encrease our regret, at not being able to put our desires into execution. We drew back often to look upon the whole, admiring the rich decorations of the Corinthian order, displayed in all its pomp on this small, but highly finished work.

Besides the doors of the front, there were also two larger side-doors, that led directly upon the stage from without; used, probably, for the entrance and exit of the actors, during the exhibition of the play. These doors were more spacious, and coarser in their construction than the others, and the passages over them were arched. There were yet two other doors, which led from an arched passage that went round under the lower seats of the theatre, into the open central space, or arena; and we conceived that it was here the actors themselves made their first entry, coming by this arched passage from some general room of preparation on each side, and passing immediately on the stage. The musicians, and others concerned in the shows, might, perhaps, have entered here: for it is observed of ancient theatres, that there were two kinds of doors; the one led to the open air, the other was for going into or coming out of

the cloisters, that those within the theatres might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, divided into partitions, also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants and to the musicians to go out, as occasion required. *

The theatre was entirely open above, nor were there any appearances of its ever having been roofed. It faced towards the north, probably that the audience might be thus shaded from a southern sun, and might receive the cool breezes which usually blow from that quarter; two luxuries worthy of being obtained by every possible means, in a climate so warm as this is during the greater part of the year.

So little appears to remain of any ancient descriptions of these edifices, that one may be forgiven for an attempt to supply that deficiency, by minute details of such features of them as we find in their ruins, and by a comparison of what we observed here, with the accounts given us of similar structures in other places. In this task it may be permitted to use the information contained in an obscure, but highly interesting, and, we may say, learned paper, inserted originally in the Gentleman's Magazine, but without

* Josephus, in his account of the assassination of Caius, at a theatre in Rome. Ant. Jud. l. xix. c. 1. s. 13.

a name. * This ingenious writer observes, that ancient authors have treated of the construction of theatres but obscurely and imperfectly. Vitruvius has given us no account, either of their dimensions, or of the number of their principal and constituting parts, presuming, I suppose, that they had been well enough known, or could never have perished. Among the more modern writers, the learned Scaliger has omitted the most essential parts; and the citations of Bullingerus from Hesychius, Eustathius, Suidas, and others, throw but an imperfect light on the real construction of ancient theatres. In the description of the first Athenian theatre, dedicated to Bacchus, and built by the famous architect, Philos, in the time of Pericles, it is said that the diameter was just one hundred Athenian feet, and that from thence it derived its name of Hecatompedon.

We see, therefore, that this theatre of Geraza was of larger dimensions than that of Bacchus at Athens, notwithstanding that this last, the ruins of which, upwards of two centuries ago, were measured by Mons. de la Guilatiere, was then considered to be a monument of ancient

* See the selection of curious articles from this work, as recommended to the editor originally by the celebrated Gibbon, and since published in four volumes, octavo. vol. i. p. 201.

magnificence worthy of being preserved. In the theatre at Athens, there was a part of the area, which comprehended fourteen feet of the diameter, that did not belong precisely to the theatre, being behind the scene; whereas, in this at Geraza, the breadth of the scene itself is a hundred and twenty feet from east to west, without any deduction; and the distance between the lowest range of seats, now above the rubbish, and the central door of that scene, is eighty feet; the remaining part of the seats, in thickness, making more than the remaining twenty feet; so that there is, therefore, one hundred feet full and complete within the scene, whichever way its diameter be taken.

Of the Athenian edifice it is said, the theatre itself was separated into two principal divisions, one for the spectators, and the other for the representations. The parts designed for the spectators were the *conistra*, which the Romans called *arena;* the rows or benches, the little stairs, and the gallery, called *circys*. The parts appropriated to the actors, were, the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, the *proscenion*, and the *scene*. In that part of the edifice allotted to the spectators, were twenty-four rows of seats, or benches, ascending gradually one above the other, and proceeding round the *conistra*, or *arena*, in an arch of a circle to the stage, which

the Greeks called *proscenion.* These benches were distinguished, eight and eight, by three corridors, or passages, which were called *diazoma.* They were of the same figure with the rows of seats, and were contrived for the passage of the spectators from one story to another, without incommoding those who were already placed. For the same convenience, there were stairs that passed from one corridor to another, across the several rows; and near those stairs there were doors, by which the people entered from the galleries on the outside, and took their places according to their rank and distinction. The best places were in the middle division, containing eight rows of seats, between the eighth and seventeenth; this division was called *bouleuticon,* and designed for the magistrates; the other rows were called *ephebicon,* and were for the citizens after they were eighteen years of age.

This description would have answered, with scarcely any variation, for the theatre at Geraza, as well as for that of Bacchus at Athens; and this being the first that was erected in that cradle of fine architecture, it will follow that the Romans, whose country of the Decapolis was a colony of their empire, had as yet made no deviation from the pure taste and chaste proportion of their

primitive Greek models, in the construction of their theatres at least.

The *conistra*, or *arena*, the benches, the stairs, and the gallery, called the *circys*, which was the upper range of all, still remained perfect here; but the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, and the *proscenion*, or *stage*, were hidden beneath the fallen fragments of the upper part of the scene, in which, as before described, even its own doors were nearly buried. We see here, however, that as there were appearances of a third division of benches being also buried beneath these fallen fragments, the number of these divisions would then be three, as in the theatre of Bacchus; and as the doors from without all led into the *corridor*, or *diazoma*, just above the central division, it was equally probable that this division formed the *bouleuticon* for the people of rank and distinction; and that the upper and lower divisions, which were not so easy of access, were the *ephebicon* for the citizens generally.

In the theatre of Bacchus, the whole number of the benches contained only twenty-four rows, in three divisions of eight each. At Geraza there were thirty rows, in two of fifteen each, now visible above the rubbish, which, as it covered the arena and the doors of the scene

nearly up to their architraves, no doubt hid beneath it another division of probably several ranges of seats, so that the number of such ranges was greater considerably than in that at Athens.

The height of those rows of benches in the theatre of Bacchus is said to have been thirteen inches; and their breadth about twenty-two inches; the lowest bench was near four feet high from the level of the floor; the height and breadth of the corridors and passages was double the height and breadth of the benches. The sides of the stairs passing from the body of the edifice towards the stage, were not parallel, for the space betwixt them grew sharper as they came near the *conistra*, or arena, and ended in the figure of a wedge, whence the Romans called them *cunei*. To prevent the falling down of the rain upon those steps, there were penthouses set up to carry off the water.

The height of each of the rows of benches in the theatre here, was just three spans, or about two feet, nearly double the height of those in the theatre of Bacchus. As we sat on them ourselves for trial, we found this, however, a very convenient height, particularly as the back was not supported. Our feet had just sufficient repose to keep the body at ease, when in an erect posture, without lounging. The height of thir-

teen inches, if that was the standard used by Philos, seems too low, as this of twenty-four may be may be thought perhaps too high, for comfort. Those of the great Roman Amphitheatre at Nismes, constructed in the age of Antoninus Pius, and capable of holding twenty thousand spectators, are said to have been from eighteen to twenty-two inches high, which is a medium between those of Athens and of Geraza, and the lowest of those numbers is about the standard at present given to our chairs and domestic seats; though I think the seats of our theatres are nearer the Athenian measure, but even these are still above it. The breadth of the seats at Geraza was exactly the same as their height, or three spans; and each row was neatly finished in front by a rounded moulding, cut out of the same stone as formed the benches, and adding both to the beauty of the edifice and to the comfort of the audience in sitting. The ranges of seats continued all around the semicircle, without being interrupted by any species of division throughout their whole length, gave a simple grandeur to the effect produced by these unbroken sweeps of the circle, rising in continued succession one above another. The blocks of the benches were much longer than the breadth necessary for one person, so that the space for one individual seat was in no way

defined. Mr. Bankes thought that he had seen Greek letters engraved on them, and conjectured that they might have served as numbers; but after a very careful examination this did not appear to me to be the case, and it is most probable that they might have been some of the arbitrary signs of the workmen for their guidance in the succession of the blocks, as such signs are very commonly seen in ancient Roman masonry.

The height and breadth of the *corridors* or *diazoma* were greater also at Geraza than at Athens, as those were exactly double the height and breadth of the benches; but these were four paces, or about eight feet broad, and of a sufficient height to admit of the doors of entrance being at least six feet high, which ought to have been the case too at Athens, one would think, as these doors occupied exactly the same place there. The flights of stairs descended here from the body of the theatre towards the stage in exactly the same way as in the theatre of Bacchus, the space between them growing narrower as they approached the *conistra* or *arena*, and ending in the figure of a wedge, which gave to them their Roman name of *cunei*. But there were no appearances of there ever having been a penthouse over these to carry off the rain, though this is nearly as wet a climate as that of Greece, in its seasons of the early and the latter

rains. The only thing we remarked in these was, that the central flight was broader than the others, and went in a straight line from the bottom of the benches to the top; and that the others were all very narrow, but easy of ascent, the height of each step seeming to be not above a span or eight inches.

Above the upper *corridor*, in the theatre of Bacchus, there was a gallery, called *circys*, for the women, where those who were infamous or irregular in their lives were not permitted to enter. At the very top of the theatre here, or above the uppermost row of benches, was a broad walk, which might rather be called the upper corridor itself than a gallery above it; so that it was not quite evident that there was a circys here for the exclusive accommodation of women, under the salutary regulations mentioned.

The Athenian theatre, it is said, was not so capacious as that which was built in Rome by Marcus Scaurus, the Ædile; for, in that, there was room for seventy-nine thousand persons; in this, there was room for six thousand only.

It is observed, that it could not contain less; for the suffrages of the people were taken in it, and by the Athenian laws six thousand suffrages were requisite to make a decree of the people authentic. As the dimensions of the theatre of

Geraza, as well as the number of its rows of seats, is greater than that of Bacchus, it follows that it would accommodate a greater number of spectators.

An author of character, who wrote a book descriptive of the remains of ancient art at Nismes, in calculating the number of possible spectators that the amphitheatre of Antoninus Pius, at that place, was capable of holding, allowed a space of twenty inches to each person. Seventeen, however, were thought sufficient by the gentleman who furnishes this information *; and he suggests, I think with great plausibility, that in crowded assemblies fourteen inches is as much space as each person, on an average, separately occupies. Those who are curious in such matters, might easily make the calculation to a nicety, having the dimensions of the building and the space for an individual already given. From a rough estimate of my own, the two divisions, or thirty rows of seats now above the rubbish, would hold six thousand seven hundred and fifty; so that, on the whole, eight thousand might be within the number it would contain when perfect. Even this is, I believe, a much greater number than

* Anonymous. — In a letter descriptive of the amphitheatre at Nismes, following the description of the first Athenian theatre, in the selections from the Gentleman's Magazine.

the largest theatre now existing would hold; as it was said, when this account of the amphitheatre at Nismes was written, that the largest theatre in Europe, which was then the Opera House at Paris, did not contain even three thousand.

Of all that part of the theatre which belonged to the actors, and its arrangement into the orchestra, the *logeon* or *thymele*, and the *proscenion* or *stage*, we could observe nothing here to assist a comparison, as all this part which occupied the arena was now covered with ruins. The scene, however, which is defined to be "the columns and ornaments in architecture, raised from the foundation and upon the sides of the proscenion for its beauty and decoration," was here very lavishly ornamented with all the richness of the Corinthian order. Agatarchus, it is said, was the first architect who found out the way of adorning scenes by the rules of perspective, and Æschylus assisted him; but we observed nothing of such a use of artificial perspective here.

The theatre of Regilla, not far from the temple of Theseus at Athens, was covered by a magnificent roof of cedar. The Odeon, or theatre for music, was covered likewise; but no part of the theatre of Bacchus was covered, except the proscenion or stage for the security of the

actors, and the circys for the shelter of the females, to whom this place was peculiarly assigned. From the appearance of the upper part of the scene here, compared with the fallen fragments and large blocks of stone which filled the arena, it did not appear that sufficient of the scene could have been destroyed to furnish so great a quantity of fragments. It is therefore probable, that the proscenion might have been roofed, and that the masses now lying on the ground might be portions of its fallen masonry; but with regard to the circys, as before remarked, it was not certain that any such division of the theatre existed.

The Athenians, in visiting their theatres, which were mostly exposed to the air, came usually, it is said, with great cloaks to secure them from the rain or the cold; and for defence against the sun they had the *sciadion*, a kind of parasol, which the Romans used also in their theatres by the name of *umbrellæ*, but when a sudden storm arose, the play was interrupted, and the spectators dispersed. This must have been the case here also, unless temporary awnings or tent-roofs were used, which is perhaps the more probable, from the very obvious advantage and convenience of such a shelter, without its being made permanent enough to

intrude upon the harmony, the beauty, or the simple grandeur of the edifice, as a piece of noble architecture.

In Athens, the scene of the temple of Bacchus looked toward the Acropolis; the Cynosages, a suburb of Athens, was behind it; the Musæon, a hill so called from the poet Musæus, was on the right hand; and the public road, leading to the Piræum, or the harbour of Athens, was on the other side.

The choice of a commanding eminence and an extensive and beautiful prospect had been judiciously made for the site of this theatre of Geraza. Also to the spectators, as they faced its stage and scene, the whole range of their public buildings was open, and their temples, palaces, squares, and baths, might all be proudly enumerated as they sat. On their right, was the magnificent circus, formed by the Ionic colonnade, with the peripteral temple near it, and the city-gate close by. Behind them, the naumachia and the triumphal arch would still proclaim the splendour of their favoured abode; while the general landscape of mountain, slope, and valley, presented on all sides a picture of the grand and the sublime in its outline forms, and of the rich and beautiful in the varied shades of its fertile clothing.

The circular colonnade, the diameter of which

is one hundred and twenty paces, or about two hundred and forty feet, appears to have marked the boundaries of an hippodromus, or of a chariot-course. A circumference of less than eight hundred feet would scarcely be considered sufficient for such a place, but the hippodromus at Alexandria, which I have seen, is scarcely larger; though that city, in the time of its glory, was inferior only to Rome itself in magnificence. The opinion that this was a course, was suggested by the sight of the lower part of the shaft of a pillar, still erect, occupying its original place, exactly facing the line of the great street, and standing at ten paces, or twenty feet within the general line of the circle towards the centre, allowing, therefore, that breadth for the passage of the chariots. There are vestiges of a former pavement near this post, which is also correspondent with that at Alexandria, where the granite column, supposed to mark the goal, is seated on a rock that has been levelled away like a pavement, in which the ruts of the chariot-wheels are still discernible. There are now remaining erect, fifty-six columns of this circle; the others have fallen, and lie at intervals as marked in the plan. *

The order of the architecture is Ionic, but re-

* No. 6. in the General Plan.

sembling more the Attic than the Asiatic Ionian in its details, though less beautiful and less chaste than either. The columns are without pedestals, and their shafts, which are about two feet in diameter, are not fluted. They are not of one block, but composed in general of three or four pieces; and from the surfaces of each of these pieces project, at stated intervals, but not in perpendicular lines, little knobs left in the stone, as if to support the ropes of a scaffolding, or of awnings or curtains between the pillars. These projections are visible only from a very short distance, so that they do not at all intrude upon the general effect of the architecture. The volutes of the capitals are gracefully turned; and the cymatrum, which is thought to have been intended to represent the front locks of women pending on the forehead, as the volutes were the side curls of the Ephesian ladies, is also well executed. The echinus, or egg-like band, the astragal or beaded one, and the fillet, which were all common to both Roman and Grecian Ionic capitals, possessed nothing peculiar here.

The colonnade supported only an entablature, which we had no opportunity of measuring, but it appeared to us to be deficient in the depth requisite for grandeur of appearance; for, notwithstanding the elegance of the Ionic order, it partakes, on the whole, more of the majestic

gravity of the Doric, than of the rich exuberance of the Corinthian. The columns appeared to be nearer the standard of eight diameters, than the modern one of nine. The height of the capital was rather above than below the ancient measure of two-thirds of the diameter. But the entablature, which it is thought should be equal to one-fourth of the whole height, where grandeur as well as elegance is required, was certainly less than that proportion. In the entablatures of Asiatic Ionics, it is said, that denticulated cornices were always used, the dentil being supposed to represent a beautiful row of teeth. This, from its never being omitted, was considered as much a part of the Ionic order, as the metopes and triglyphs of the frieze were a part of the Doric; and both of them were held to be as characteristic of their respective orders as the capitals themselves. But in most of the remains of Ionic buildings at Athens, these dentils are omitted; and this appeared to us to have been the case also in the Ionic buildings at Geraza.

The intercolumniation was aræostyle; the intervals between each pillar being fully equal to four diameters throughout. The only breaks in the circle, where the entablature was discontinued, were at the space opening to the great street on the north, and at a similar space front-

ing the façade of the peripteral temple and the city-gate on the south. The whole wore a light and elegant appearance, yet, from its size and form, produced at the same time a very grand and noble effect. As it was the first object that arrested the attention on entering the city, so was it conspicuously seen from almost every part of it; besides which, it was the prominent object that presented itself to the spectator when viewing these ruins from afar, in every direction of approach to them.

The street leading from the northern end of this circular hippodromus through the whole length of the town, is lined on each side with a colonnade of the Corinthian order, supporting also an entablature. The pillars rested on the edge of a raised causeway, which was ascended to on each side by steps, whether two or three in number we could not easily determine; and the width of the street measured about thirty feet, as well as it could be paced over the masses of fallen ruins which blocked up every part of the way. The columns stand on pedestals, the square part of the base being not more than one-fourth of a diameter in height; and above the torus are two cylindric convex mouldings, with a concave one between them, but without astragals. This is known to have been the pedestal most frequently used by the Romans

in the Corinthian buildings; though it is thought, by those most conversant in the history of architecture, that the chastest and purest specimens of all the orders are without pedestals.

The shafts of all these pillars were plain, and they were mostly composed of three or four pieces. We remarked in them this peculiarity, which was visible also in the shafts of the Ionic columns at the Hippodromus, that they began to swell in diameter at about one-third of their height upward from the base, and continued to increase that diameter sensibly to the eye until near their centre, when they diminished in a somewhat greater proportion from thence to the setting on of the capital. The sculpture of the foliage on these capitals appeared to us to be good, though the material of which all the edifices here are constructed being a firm yellow sandstone, is not so favourable for the work of the chisel as marble would have been, nor does it seemingly admit of any polish. The entablature supported by this colonnade is that which is common to the order, being formed, as is thought, from the mixture of the Doric and Ionic, of which the dentil, echinus, and astragal of the last, are the most prominent features of the cornice; though in the time of Vitruvius it is certain that there was no entablature strictly proper to the order, for he says that both Doric

and Ionic entablatures were supported by Corinthian columns, and that it was the columns alone, without reference to their entablatures, which constituted this order. * The diameter of the shafts of these pillars is not more than three feet in the largest part, and the highest appears to the eye to be in a just proportion to this.

Following this principal street towards the north, the columns on the right are found to be mostly fallen; but there are fewer of those on the left that are displaced. After passing the first thirteen still erect, with the intervals marked on the plan, there are seen on each side four large columns of nearly double the diameter of the others. These did not belong to the front of any particular building, as far as we could trace; but, like the smaller ones, support only their entablatures, and thus form two tetrastyles in the midst of the general line of the respective avenues, and exactly facing each other. As these columns, from their greater diameter, where necessarily higher in the same proportion than the others, there was an interruption of the line of the smaller entablature, the end of which now abutted against the shaft of the larger pillar. For the support of this,

* Lib. iv. c. 1.

there was a bracket left to project from that shaft, cut out of the same block of stone, in the way that the brackets for statues are seen to project from the columns at Palmyra, and on this the termination of the smaller entablature rested. The tetrastyle was then crowned with its own entablature, differing in nothing but its size from the smaller one; and the last column of it having, like the first, a bracket projecting from its shaft. The entablature of the smaller pillars rested on this, and the colonnade then proceeded onward of its former size. The whole had a great resemblance to some of the Palmyrene edifices, where the introduction of larger columns in different numbers, from tetrastyle to decastyle, is frequently seen in the same line with a colonnade of smaller ones.

Beyond these, to the north, and on the eastern side of the street, are the remains of some large building, which possessed an extensive façade towards the avenue; but as the only remains of this edifice now to be seen are broken columns and demolished walls, it was not easy for us to pronounce on the peculiar use to which it had been appropriated.

Immediately at the termination of the wall of this building, is a small square, formed by the intersection of the principal street, by another crossing it at right angles, from east to west.

It was just before reaching this, or between it and the large pillars just described, and consequently opposite to the front of the dilapidated building, that a broken column was found lying on the ground, with the fragment of a Greek inscription on the shaft. The characters were almost obliterated; but, after considerable labour, and many doubts as to the form of particular letters in the course of it, I was enabled to make a copy of as much of it as could be traced. No one line, I conceive, was made out perfectly: though I believe that there were not originally any greater number of lines in the whole than those transcribed.

The square spoken of as being just beyond where this inscription was met with, and formed by the intersection of the principal street, had four large pedestals, disposed at each of the angles of it, and their fronts placed in right lines with the fronts of the colonnades leading along the street itself. In each face of these pedestals were small, concave, and fan-topped niches, probably for statues, as the ancients are known to have appropriated such niches to their reception. There were fragments of small Corinthian shafts and capitals near them, lying on the ground, so that there might have been also larger statues on the pedestals themselves, inclosed perhaps within peristyles, as is some-

times seen in the statues of rural gods in modern pleasure-grounds, and as was occasionally used by the ancients in their gardens.

The cross-street, running here from east to west, led up from the brow of the eastern hill, overlooking the valley below, and was continued from thence to the city-wall, in the opposite direction. It crossed the principal street exactly at right angles, was of the same general character and dimensions, and was lined also with a Corinthian colonnade, supporting an entablature on each side. There were, upon the whole, about thirty of the columns still erect, but the places of all those that had fallen could be easily traced; and indeed most of their pedestals occupied their original positions. There did not appear to us to be any edifices worthy of remark in this street, so that we did not follow it through all its parts, but were content to catch its general features, as given in the plan.

Pursuing the direction of the principal street to the northward, the next edifice met with, beyond the square of intersection, is a large Corinthian one on the left, receding several paces backward from the line of the street itself, and having a noble portico, of which three columns are still standing in front. From the remains of this edifice, it appears rather to have

been a palace, or a public building of a civil nature, than a temple; which may be said also of the one before mentioned, on the other side of the square. Opposite to this palace, we observed a range of octagonal pedestals, of great height and diameter, which were not designed, as far as we could judge, for the support of pillars, but must either have borne statues on them in front of this building, or have answered some other purpose of ornament or utility which we could not devise.

Next in order beyond this, going still to the north, is a small semicircular portion of what we now perceived to be a very spacious building, extending both to the north and to the south of this as a centre, and having, opposite to it, on the western side of the street, another very large building in a ruined condition. The portico which stood in front of this semicircle, which must have been always open to the great street, was formed of four noble Corinthian columns, of six spans, or four feet, in diameter; three of them being still erect, and the fourth fallen. The ornaments of the order, in the frieze, cornice, pediments, &c. of this little sanctuary, were lavished here in all the exuberance of decoration. From some fragments of Egyptian rose-granite, and a pretty large piece of a shaft of that costly material, found among

the rubbish, it was evident that pillars of it had been used here. There were still standing some small columns, of about eighteen inches in diameter, of a fine yellow marble, which retained its polish, and other pillars of this stone had fallen.

From the frieze of this semicircular sanctuary, we copied a short and imperfect inscription; and we observed that the niches above this, which were crowned with rich pediments and probably designed for statues, were stuccoed on the inside, and painted with successive lines of small pyramidal figures, in green and yellow, both of which colours were still remarkably fresh. *

It was just in front of this semicircular sanctuary, (for the superior richness of its ornament, and the costliness of the materials used in its decoration naturally induced us to call it so,) that the inscribed altar lay broken and reversed as we had at first seen it, but from which a copy was afterwards with some difficulty obtained.

The letters on this altar were better shaped, and more distinctly engraved, than those which were seen on the inscribed pillar; but in both

* See the position of this building, in No. 7. of the General Plan.

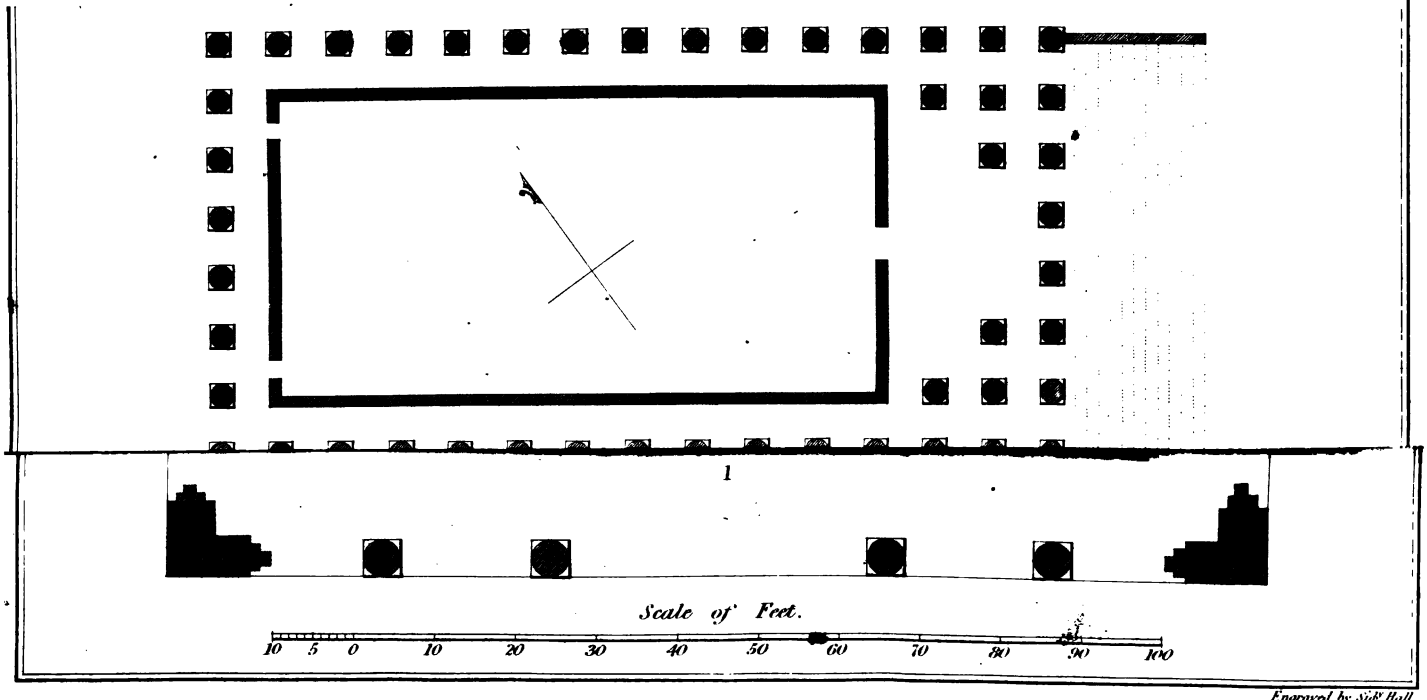
of them the characters might be said to have been badly executed, and without regard to uniformity of size or shape, as may be seen in the copies of them in which these particulars are as accurately preserved as circumstances would admit of at the time of their being transcribed.

There are appearances of one continued line of building from the semicircular sanctuary to the palace, which is near the centre of the city, or at least of the western portion of it. The front of this is still entire, and leaves no doubt that the edifice was a place of residence, and not a temple. A small and exceedingly narrow staircase, in which even two children could not pass each other, leads from one side of the front entrance below, to one of the windows above, and seems to have been contrived for some secret purpose, as it is impossible that frequent or public use could have been made of it. Though the front is nearly perfect, the whole of the interior of this building is rased to the ground. *

Behind this, to the westward, on more elevated ground, is a large ruined building, which we did not minutely examine, but just remarked

* No. 9. in the General Plan.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT GERAZA.



Engraved by Sidr Hall.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, August, 1821.

its position and its size, which are noted in the Plan. *

Opposite to this palace, immediately in front of it, on the eastern side of the street, is the long-extended façade of a Corinthian temple, with a semi-circular termination to the eastward. The façade is that of a spacious and grand edifice, and the workmanship, seen in the interior range of columns still erect, proves also that the execution of the details was equal to the design of the whole.

The most imposing edifice among all these ruins, both for size, grandeur, and commanding situation, is a large Corinthian temple, to the W. N. W. of the palace last described; and not far from the western boundary of the city wall. † The impression which the noble aspect of this building made on us, as we beheld it from every quarter of the city, was such, that we both constantly called it the "Temple of Jupiter," in our conversation, and in our notes. This was done without our ever suggesting the propriety of the title to each other, without our having sought for any reason to justify its adoption, or at all arguing the claim in our minds; but as if the proud pre-eminence which it seemed to possess over all the other buildings, could not

* No. 9. in the General Plan.

† No. 10. of ditto.

be otherwise expressed than by its dedication to the greatest of all the gods; and since this high title was thus so unconsciously, and simultaneously given to it by us both, we suffered it to remain unaltered, as at least an appropriate one to distinguish it from the rest.

This edifice is built in the form of an oblong square, and is seventy paces, or about one hundred and forty feet in extreme length; and thirty-five paces, or seventy feet, in extreme breadth. Its front is open to the S. E. by E., and there is here a noble portico of twelve columns, disposed in three rows, six in the front row, four in the central one, and two only in the inner one; the intervals being left on the centre on each side of the door of entrance, and the end or side columns being thus in a line with each other. There was a low wall carried out on each side of this portico, to the distance of thirty feet in front, and as the pillars stand on an elevated platform, it is probable that the interval here was occupied by a flight of steps leading up to the temple, but of these there are now no remains. This edifice appears also to have been a peripteral one, or to have been surrounded by a colonnade on all sides, including the portico in front. The bases of the pillars are still seen in their places, and shafts and capitals lie scattered all around. These are all of the

same size and order as those of the portico, and leave but little doubt of their belonging originally to the exterior colonnade of this building. The whole number of the columns of the portico are still standing, and these being eight spans, or nearly six feet in diameter, and about fifty feet in height, have an air of great grandeur and majesty, and present the most happy combination of strength and beauty. The pedestals of the columns are the same as those described in the avenue of the principal street below. The shafts are plain, and swell slightly towards their centres. The capitals are well executed, and the union of the separate parts of which the shafts are composed, presents the most admirable specimen of ancient masonry; for even at this late period, the lines of their union are often difficult to be traced. These pieces were united by a large square bar of metal, going down their centre, and forming a sort of common axis to them all. The separate blocks were marked with Greek letters on the inside, near these square holes for the reception of the metal bar, as I myself observed on the blocks of a fallen shaft near the north-east angle of the building, and these marks were, no doubt, for the guidance of the workmen, in fitting every piece into its proper place. Whether, therefore, regarding the strength of those noble columns, the chaste

beauty of their proportions in the details of all their parts, the admirable execution of the masonry and the sculpture, or the majestic and imposing aspect of the whole, we could not but admire the taste and skill of the ancients in this sublime art of architecture.

It must not be concealed, however, that on entering the building, a feeling of disappointment was experienced at finding it so little correspondent with the magnificence of all that is seen from without. An observation of a writer, who treats of the temples of the ancients, occurred to me very forcibly here, though, when I first met with this remark, it did not appear to me quite correct, from its inapplicability to the temples of the Egyptians, which were then the only ones that I had seen. This writer says, " I am sufficiently apprised of what strikes the imagination, and raises it to such romantic heights whilst we attend to the descriptions of ancient temples; it was the prodigious number of columns they were enriched with, that enchants us. How can we avoid believing an edifice to be extremely vast, that is supported by a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pillars. We have seen Gothic churches, with not above forty or fifty, wide enough to lose ourselves in. How vast then, we say, must the temples have been which had twice or thrice that number?

The mistake of the fancy arises from this,—that it places within the body of the temple, or in the cella, that which really stood without it. It should be noted, in general, that this cella was the least object of the old architects' care; they never began to think about it before they had distributed and adorned the exterior, because that was to be the proof of genius, taste, and magnificence. The grand was not then estimated by the number of square feet contained in the area which the wall enclosed, but from their outworks of an hundred and twenty columns, as those of Hadrian's Pantheon; or of thirty-six only, as those of the temple of Theseus. From the ruins of Athens, it even appears that the richness and extent of the outworks were sometimes the very cause of contracting the cella within a narrower space than might have been otherwise allotted it."

The interior of this temple of Jupiter, at Geraza, which proudly promised so much from without, from its spacious atrium, its noble vestibulum, and its surrounding porticoes and colonnades, was found to consist simply of one square cella, without any of the subdivisions of basilica, adytum, penetrale, or sacrarium. Around the side-walls, and about half-way up their height, were six oblong recesses, without ornament. In the end-wall was a much larger

one, arched at the top, which, rising from the level of the pavement, and occupying the centre of the end-wall, was, probably, the tribunal, or the place in which stood the statue of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. On each side of this large recess, was a small arched doorway, and above these two small recesses, as in the side-walls; while above the supposed tribunal, was a shallow semi-circular recess, occupying the centre of the wall. There was no appearance of either a pediment or a roof to the building, nor were there sufficient fragments on the inside to induce us to suppose that it had fallen in. Whether, therefore, it was originally an hypæthrum, or an open temple, it was not easy to decide. It may be remarked, however, that the rough state of many parts of the interior seemed to indicate that the building had never been completely finished.

The exterior of the cella walls was of smooth and good masonry, and had neither niches nor pilasters throughout its height. In the front wall, however, on each side of the principal door of entrance, leading from the portico, were two recesses, like blank side-doors, crowned with Corinthian pediments. The ornament of the architrave, both in these, and in the principal door itself, was palm-leaves thickly over-lapping each other by successive layers in a horizontal

direction, and advancing towards the centre, where their points met.

After the most diligent search, not the vestige of an inscription could be found here to assist our conjectures on the age of the building, the name of its founder, or the god to whose honour it had been reared.

Along the south-west side of this temple, and parallel with the direction of its side-wall, the remains of an extensive colonnade are seen, the line of which stands at about the distance of fifty yards from the body of the temple itself; and, probably, marked the enclosure of the atrium, or court, which, when perfect, must have added greatly to the magnificent aspect of the whole. This colonnade was also of the Corinthian order, and supported its own entablature, blocks of which, as well as capitals and shafts, are seen scattered near the line of its original direction. There are, also, appearances of a second or inner colonnade, of the same order, surrounding the temple at an intermediate distance, or about twenty-five yards from it. This might either have marked an inner division of the atrium, or have been the original one; and the more distant colonnade, whose circuit around the temple is not so distinctly marked as this, might then have belonged to some other work adjoining it.

The next remarkable edifice beyond this, to the north-east, after passing some buildings in the way, which are too much in ruins to be worth a description, is a second theatre, somewhat smaller than the first, and differing from it also in some of its details. This theatre falls nearly in a line with the second or northernmost street of intersection, and faces exactly to the N. E. by N. *

It has two divisions of benches, the upper one containing nine rows, and the lower one seven, now distinct; with two others, probably, buried in the rubbish, which here also covers the arena. In the upper division, are seven flights of steps, or cunei, and in the lower one were, probably, three, as in the first theatre; but this division is here too much dilapidated to trace them accurately.

The corridor between these, or the diazoma, is here as much less than the proportion assigned to that of the Athenian theatre, as in the first theatre to the south it was greater than that standard. The diazoma of this northern one is scarcely wider than the seats themselves, but it is more richly ornamented. The doors leading into the body of the theatre from without, are the same in number and arrangement as those

* See its position at No. 11. of the General Plan.

described before; but the space left by the intervals all around, is filled by a line of beautiful concave, or hemispherical fan-topped niches, which produce the finest effect.

The scene of this theatre is entirely open, and the diameter of the whole arena, from the lowest range of seats now visible, to the proscenion, or stage, is greater than that of the southern theatre, though the upper range of benches here is not quite one hundred paces in circuit. It would, therefore, be more difficult to make the voice audible in this theatre, or, as the modern expression is, "to fill it," than at the southern one, where the closed scene would assist the reverberation of sound, and where this distance between the audience and the actors was really less. It occurred to me as highly probable, that these concave niches, thus ranged so closely along the corridor, were not intended merely for ornament, but were designed also to assist the reverberation of sound, which must have needed some aid.

In the theatre of Bacchus, at Athens, we are told that Philos not only displayed his taste in the just symmetry of the architecture, but that he showed equal judgment in assisting the communication of sounds. The voice, it is said, being extenuated in an open and spacious place,

where the distant walls, though of marble, could give little or no repercussion to make it audible, he contrived cells in the thickness of the corridors, in which he placed brass vessels, supported by wedges of iron, that they might not touch the wall. The voice proceeding from the stage to the corridors, and striking upon the the concavity of those vessels, was reverberated with more clearness and force: their number were in all twenty-eight, and they were called *echea*, because they gave an echo to the sound. *

Nothing could be more fitted for the reception of such *echea* than these beautiful little niches, distributed at stated intervals, along the diazoma here; and their form, from being so highly ornamental, may be even considered as an improvement on the original cells of Philos. No marks of the fixture of such vessels as were used by that architect were to be seen here; but it is expressly said that those at Athens were supported by iron wedges, that they might not touch the wall, which might have been the case here also, so that no mark would be left by them; and as for the vessels themselves, as well as the wedges by which they were supported, both brass and iron, of which they were formed,

* Selection from Gent. Mag. vol. i. p. 201.

were metals of too much value to remain long in buildings abandoned to ruin.

The great characteristic difference between this theatre and the southern one is its open scene, which is formed by a portico or double range of Corinthian columns, each supporting their own entablature only. This open front has an air of greater grandeur than the closed one; though one would conceive that it was not so well fitted for the representation of plays, at least, in our manner of managing the changes of scenery. It might, on the other hand, be better adapted for the representation of particular pieces, such as those exhibiting pompous processions, triumphs, &c. to which it might have been more expressly devoted, as we have our opera-houses for music and spectacle, and our theatres for the drama.

It is said of the theatre of Bacchus, at Athens, that outwardly there was a *portico*, consisting of a double gallery, divided by rows of pillars, called the portico of Eumenicus. The floor of this portico was elevated some distance from the ground; so that from the street they ascended to it by steps. It was of an oblong square figure, embellished with green palisadoes, to please the eyes of those who walked in it. Here it was that their repetitions, or rehearsals, were made and proposed for the

theatre, as the music and symphony was in the Odeon.* This I understand to have been beyond the scene, though it is not clear, from the description of the theatre of Bacchus, whether this portico was not *all* that stood immediately in front of that particular edifice; for, in speaking of the arrangement of its parts, it is said, the "scene, properly speaking, was the columns and ornaments in architecture, raised from the foundation, and upon the sides of the proscenion, for its beauty and decoration," without farther describing of what particular kind this scene in the theatre of Athens was, whether open or closed. It is probable, therefore, that this double portico here answered the same purpose of a walk, or a place for the recitation of such pieces as were to be represented afterwards within, on the regular stage.

We thought, upon the whole, that the finish of the ornaments of this theatre were superior to those of the southern one, and that it was also in a better state of preservation. The arched side-doors, for the entrance of the actors and musicians from the private apartments of the theatre beneath the benches within, were the same here as in the southern one; but from the arena being covered with masses of fallen stone,

* Select. from Gent. Mag. vol. ii. p. 201.

and grass turf grown around and upon them, we could learn nothing from it regarding the arrangement of the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, called by the Romans *pulpitum*, or even of the *proscenion*, or stage, any more than we did from the other theatre; for in both of them these interesting divisions were buried under a mass of broken fragments and accumulated rubbish.

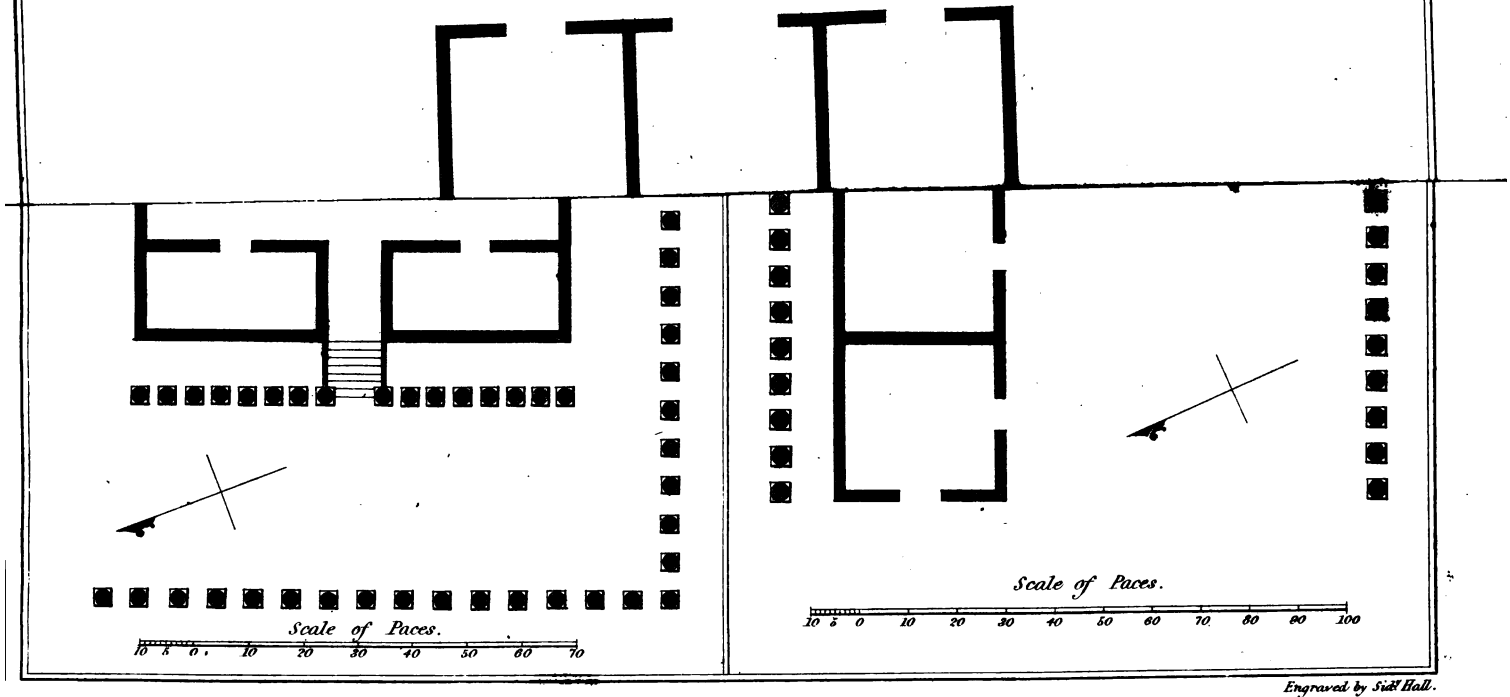
The northern theatre of Geraza falls nearly into the line of the second street of intersection, as has been already mentioned. This street, like the first, crossed the principal one at right angles, and was lined also, on each side, with a colonnade supporting an entablature. Here, however, the order is Ionic, though the size of the pillars and their intercolumniation is the same. There are few of these now standing, but the line of their direction can be distinctly traced on each side. The point of intersection here is marked, as the former one, by a sort of square; but the four pedestals being now raised to the height of walls, support a flattened dome of a circular form, and the inside of the building is made circular also, though the outside is square. A kind of open porch is thus formed, with a free passage on each of the four sides; and here, either in showery, or in hot summer weather, the loungers and gossipers of the city might meet,

and, sheltered equally from the rain and the sun, be as loquacious and communicative as they pleased, without interrupting the public passage. It is well known how fond the Greeks were of these assemblies in porches; and the Romans, if they at all imitated these their distinguished models in this particular, in their own country of Italy, would find in Asia something, both in the climate and in the manners of the people, to encourage and familiarize them with such a practice.

To the south-east of this square of intersection is a very extensive building, to which it is difficult to give a name, though in the Plan it is called a bath, from its resembling such an establishment more than any other. * The whole area which it occupies is upwards of four hundred paces in circumference. Its general form is that of a square, whose four sides face nearly in the direction of the city-walls, or towards the cardinal points of the heavens. Its eastern front, which stands on the brow of the western hill, and looks from thence down into the valley, is one hundred and twenty paces in length. It has three divisions, each of which are marked by a lofty and spacious arch of a vaulted roofed passage leading into it. Its east-

* No. 15. of the General Plan.

EXTENSIVE BATH AT GERAZA.



Engraved by Sidt Hall.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, August 1821.

ern front is of the same dimensions with its western one, and looks towards the city. All along, and before this, are strewed innumerable fragments of fallen Corinthian columns, the remains of porticoes or colonnades that had once stood here. Of these, no more was now to be traced than one continued line of pedestals, near the front of the building, and a side-avenue, formed by two such lines leading down to the central arched entrance, this leading, like those towards the western, by a vaulted passage into the interior. The northern and southern front had each of them two smaller wings of a square form, projecting from the general line, each about twenty paces in length and breadth. These were covered with flat-domed tops, of a circular form, exactly like the roof of the square of intersection at the second street already described; and these were also about the same size, though they were but the small wings of a very large pile. These wings were open on three sides by arched passages, the fourth being that side by which they were connected to the great building. These passages were seven paces long by ten broad, and the whole length and breadth of the wing was just twenty paces each way. In the northern one we remarked a horse-shoe arch, which was the first we had seen among the ruins, and it was here used to support a solid wall

above a cell. The whole of the pile was well built; and its western front, when perfect, must have been magnificent. Its interior was subdivided in such a way, as that it could not well be taken for a temple; nor did we conceive it to be a place of habitation, such as a palace or great public dwelling; so that we called it in this uncertainty a bath, without, however, having unequivocal proof of it being so.

The remainder of the street, which continues from the last point of intersection to the northern gate, is lined on each side with an Ionic colonnade, supporting its own entablature; and this extends in that direction for about three hundred paces, when on approaching near to the northern gate, some of the original pavement of the street in flat stones is still very distinctly seen. *

On the left, or to the west of this, and receding some distance from the street, is the wall of a large and solid edifice, which from its plainness, strength, and situation, we thought to be a military guard-house †, more particularly as just to the west of this are two towers of defence still remaining erect in the city-wall, although the wall itself is in that part much demolished, as if it had been destroyed by engines.

* No. 30. of the General Plan, towards the north.

† No. 12. of ditto.

On the right, or to the east of the city-gate, which is a strong and simple structure, devoid of ornament, is a piece of solid wall; and close below it, is the narrow pass of the valley which divided the eastern from the western portion of the town. This must have been also a place of importance to defend, as the ground leading down toward it from without, would give an advancing enemy great command of position above them in a siege.

In this valley, at the northern end, is a large Corinthian temple, which is so completely in ruins as to have only a portion of its walls, an arched door-way, and one of its interior columns standing. * It was, however, an edifice upon which more than usual care had been bestowed, and the finish of its sculpture was quite equal to any we had seen. There were many concave fan-topped niches within, as could be seen from their fragments scattered on the ground. Though the edifice was Corinthian, it was surrounded by an Ionic colonnade, supporting the entablature, proper to its order. The dimensions of the building itself was fifty-six paces each way, its form being a perfect square; but the area of the whole pile, including its surrounding colonnade, was much greater.

* No. 13. of the General Plan.

There is here a beautiful carpet of green turf; and bare and rugged rocks rise abruptly into broken cliffs, on the edge of the eastern hill; while, to render the combination of objects additionally picturesque, the spring, which waters all the valley, rises close by the temple. It was from among these rocks, that Mr. Bankes, stooping down behind them, contrived to take one of his drawings of the ruins of Geraza, in which most of the prominent edifices of the city are included.

Around this fountain, are several finely clustered trees and shrubs, and at the head of the spring are foundations, hewn and sculptured stones, and other vestiges of altars, perhaps erected to the deity of the stream, whose statue it was usual among the ancients to place near its source.* Nothing could be defined here, however, with the accuracy of a plan. It was, indeed, a spot of all others the most liable to be intruded on, and violated by all who had occasion ever to pass this way; so that it was rather a matter of surprise to us, that even a block of stone remained, than that it was so ruined.

From this fountain-head, the water goes off in two separate streams. One of these runs

* The position of this beautiful spot is given at No. 14. of the General Plan.

westward to the deep gutter of the valley, where it falls into the channel worn by the rains, and joins the temporary brook which these rains form there in the present season, but which is dry in the summer. The other stream is carried by a sunken and stuccoed channel for about a hundred yards to the southward, when it turns off sharply to the west, and goes by a raised, or arched aqueduct over the other portion of its own stream, now on a much lower level, until, gaining the brow of the western hill, it continues running along by it to fill the channels of the naumachia without the city walls.

The bridge now in ruins *, which crossed the stream of the valley, is just behind the Corinthian temple distinguished by a semicircular end, and the great palace opposite to it; and near to this bridge is the arched aqueduct before spoken of. †

To the eastward of this aqueduct, is another large building, which, from its great extent and indefinite nature, we called, as we had done a former one, a public bath. ‡ The area which it occupies, is upwards of four hundred paces; and its plan, though not exactly like that of the other, has yet a striking general resemblance,

* No. 16. of the General Plan.
† No. 17. of ditto.
‡ No. 18. of ditto.

as well in the subdivisions of its interior, as in the multitude of columns scattered about near it. There are altogether five principal divisions in this edifice, each of them of about an equal size, and the whole forming two sides of a square, as if it was intended to enclose a central court. These divisions are very lofty; the masonry of the building is solid and well-finished; and the arches, which are used for recesses and supporters in the walls, are chiefly of the horse-shoe form. The vaulted roof of the central division, as seen from a distance, appeared to be slightly pointed; but on a nearer inspection, this appearance seemed rather to have been occasioned by the falling in of the sides of the roof, than to have been originally given to it, as an arch of the pointed form.

Around, and in front of this large pile, towards the stream, are a multitude of pillars of different kinds; some of them have square shafts with Corinthian capitals on them, others are spirally fluted columns, without base or capital, and others again are circular shafts fluted in perpendicular lines in the usual way, with Corinthian capitals. These were the more remarkable, as they were the only fluted columns of any kind that we had met with throughout the ruins of the city, excepting a few fallen fragments near the palace in the centre of the

principal street. In our first visit, Mr. Bankes saw near this bath a cylindrical stone, with an inscription on it, which he could not stop to copy. It lay amidst other fallen fragments, and he remembered to have seen in one of the lines, the letters L E G. or legio; so that it might have had some relation to a military subject. After a long and careful search, however, this stone could not afterwards be found, which, indeed, was hardly to be expected, amidst such a multitude of others.

To the south-west of this extensive pile about a hundred paces, were appearances of a colonnade of the Corinthian order, which continued to border the eastern edge of the stream here, following the direction of its waters to the southward. At the termination of this, was also the ruins of a bridge of five arches, which crossed the stream from east to west; and from its western end, a flight of steps led up to the colonnades of the first, or southern street of intersection, with the columns of which its sides fell in a line. *

* The written description here is not in perfect harmony with the plan. The last was laid down from a set of bearings taken with a good compass; the first was composed also on the spot. The error is in the points of bearing only; but which of these two is more correct, my recollection does not allow me to decide; so that I have suffered both the authorities to remain unaltered.

From hence the channel leading from the first aqueduct runs along the side of the western hill, preserving its original level, and going ultimately into the channels for filling the naumachia. To the south-east of this bridge, about a hundred yards down the valley, is seen another smaller aqueduct, in ruins. It is by the first, or northernmost one, that the water is carried from the fountain-head of the spring in the valley, to the naumachia. About fifty yards from the southern aqueduct, next to the bridge, are the city-walls crossing the valley; and there is at this spot also a piece of an aqueduct still remaining, as well as a portion of another one about three hundred yards to the south-east of it, and without the town. At the first southern aqueduct from the principal bridge, the stream divides; one part of it continuing south along the valley, in a channel on the side of the western hill; and the other, without crossing the main stream by the aqueduct, bending to the south-east, and continuing to run upon the same level, in a channel on the side of the eastern hill. The bed of this last is even now full and perfect, and its waters are probably used for the irrigation of some part of the valley farther to the southward.

The eastern hill, the slope of which is of steeper ascent than the western one, is covered

with the ruins of private dwellings, among which only a few small columns are seen. The city walls are more perfect here, however, than on the west; and a great portion of them at the north-east angle is indeed quite in its original state. In the north-west angle, and not far from the northern gate of the city, where the military guard-house stands, are two towers, which are also tolerably perfect; but all other parts of the walls are considerably demolished, and more so even than is likely to have been effected only by the common operations of war. As it was usual, however, among the ancients, to complete the demolition of the walls and fortifications of such towns as they conquered, particularly when they were given up to plunder, this might have been the case here. The walls were originally well-built of hewn stone and smooth masonry, and among their fallen fragments were seen many sculptured stones. These were chiefly remarked in the western wall, where there might have been smaller gates, and where there seems to have been a line of towers like those now standing, continued all along; but the positions of them were not sufficiently distinct to admit of their being marked as certain in the plan.

So complete is the general desolation of this once proud city, that Bedouin Arabs now en-

camp in the valley for the sake of the spring there, as they would do near the wells of their native deserts. Such portions of the soil as are cultivated among the ruins, both in the valley within the walls, and in the naumachia without them, are ploughed by men who claim no property in the land; and the same spot is thus occupied by different persons in every succeeding year, as time and chance may happen to direct.

It is remarkable, that the Doric order is not seen in any edifice or column throughout the whole of the ruins here. The Ionic prevails near each gate of entrance, as if to prepare the way for the richer Corinthian, which occupies all the centre. Without the northern gate is a small ruined building, with columns; and without the southern one, near the lower end of the naumachia, and the triumphal arch, is a similar one. There was an extensive necropolis on the north, and another on the south of the city, without the walls; with two theatres in opposite quarters of the town, and near the gates within; so that great uniformity was observed in the arrangement of the buildings. The central semicircular sanctuary appears to have been the most highly finished; and the triumphal arch without the southern gate was in the worst taste. The one was probably the portion of some particularly sacred edifice, and the other a subsequent

work, set up on a sudden for some particular occasion, and by the direction of some inferior architect, the only one perhaps on the spot.

So few and so slender are the materials to be met with either in sacred or profane history, regarding the city of Geraza, that little more can be done than to name such as occur, for the satisfaction of those who might wish to know more of a place of such obscure fame in general records, yet possessing the remains of so much magnificence within itself. The same kind of difficulty occurred to those enterprising travellers who gave to the world their splendid drawings and plans of Palmyra and Balbeck; but those gentlemen possessed the wealth to procure, and the leisure to examine the works of all such ancient authors as might be supposed to contain any thing regarding the history of these cities, and accordingly there was soon after appended to their labours as connoisseurs and artists, a critical enquiry worthy of them as gentlemen and scholars, and embracing all the learning that could in any way tend to illustrate the history of the cities whose superb ruins they had so carefully surveyed and described.

As the circumstances under which the remains of Geraza were visited by us were, however, far less favourable to accurate examination, so, on my own part, at least, are the

means of illustrating that which is simply described too slender to afford hope for much success in the exercise of them. I shall mention, however, those few particulars which occur among my notes and extracts previously made for illustration, and hastily gleaned only from the Scriptures and Josephus, as almost the only books within my reach while in the country.

The similitude of name, and correspondence of situation, would lead to a conclusion that this Jerash, جراش, of the present Arab possessors of the country, is the same with the Gergashi, גרגשי of the Hebrews; and it is from this, as Grotius says, that the Gorosa, Γοροσα, of Ptolemy is derived. * The Gergashites are often mentioned in the early wars of the Israelites; and the Geshurites, with their city of Geshur, and their coasts of Jeshuri, (as they are called in another place †,) are also frequently spoken of; but whether the same people is meant by these names, it is not easy to decide. Gergasha was in the land of Gilead, which was so called, according to the Jewish historian, from a pillar being erected in the form of an altar on one of the mountains there, to commemorate and con-

* Notes on the Treatise "Of the Truth of the Christian Religion," b. i. s. 16. p. 55. 8vo. London, 1805.

† Deut. iii. 14.

firm a league by which Jacob promised to love Laban's daughters, as well as to forgive Laban himself for his ill treatment of him and his suspicions of his daughter Rachel.* This same land of Gilead was part of the kingdom of Bashan, as Og, the king of Bashan, (always so called in Scripture,) was also the king of Gilead and of Gaulanitis. †

It was this kingdom that Moses over-ran after passing the Jabbok, when he overthrew their cities and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of their soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. ‡ "So the Lord our God," says the sacred writer, "delivered into our hands Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his people: and we smote him until none was left to him remaining. And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a city which we

* She had carried off the household gods of her family in her elopement, and cunningly outwitted her father in his search after them, by putting them under the camel's saddle on which she rode, and saying that her natural purgations hindered her from rising up; by which Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter, under such circumstances, would approach to these images. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 19. s. 11.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 5. s. 3.

‡ Ibid.

took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argol, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside unwalled towns, a great many. And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, utterly destroying the men, women, and children of every city. But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey to ourselves." *

This eastern portion of the Jewish conquests, and certainly by far the richest and most beautiful of all the country that they at any time possessed, was made the lot of the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, who were left at their own request to secure and enjoy their spoils, and built cities, and settled their wives and children in them before they crossed the Jordan with the rest to enter Canaan. † In the days of Solomon, the son of David, who reigned at Jerusalem, one of the captains of his armies, named Gabaris, ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities of Og‡, but whether this of Gergashi was then one of those, there is no positive testimony, that I am aware of, either sacred or profane.

* Deut. iii. 3—7. † Deut. iii. 18.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 2. s. 3.

After the Roman conquests in the East, this country became one of their favourite colonies, and ten principal cities were built on the east of the Jordan, giving the name of Decapolis to the whole of that portion of the land over which they were spread.* As such it is mentioned in the New Testament †, and Geraza, whose ruins we have been describing, was then one of the ten cities giving their joint name to the province; but it is certain that it was not considered the principal of these, either in wealth, importance, or extent.

In an abridged history of the Jews, by a modern hand, this place is thought to be the same with the Essa of Josephus, and the learned Reland's authority is quoted in support of it. The passage in Josephus is thus: "But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it, and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia, and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley, which is called the Valley of Antiochus, as also the Fortress of

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 18.

† St. Mark, c. vii. v. 31.

Gamala." * The paraphrase says, "After having recovered many towns, and obtained some advantages of inferior consequence, he marched with his army to the seige of Essa or Geraza †, in which Theodorus had secured, as he thought, the whole of his treasures. Alexander, however, took the town by storm, and carried away all the riches which he found there, without molestation." ‡

It is quite evident, indeed, that Josephus speaks of Geraza under this name of Essa, from the parallel passage in his History of the Jewish Wars, which was written previously to the books of his Antiquities of the Jewish nation; but from whence this name of Essa is derived, I am not aware. The passage alluded to is thus: "But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Geraza again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions, and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force." ||

Before it could have had time to recover itself from this severe blow, it was included among the number of those cities which were destroyed and burnt by the enraged Jews, in their ven-

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 15. s. 3.
† Vide Joseph. Ant. xiii. 3.; and Reland, p. 767.
‡ Hewlett's Hist. of the Jews, 12mo. p. 170.
|| Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 4. s. 8.

geance on the Syrians, and on the Roman power generally, for the massacre of a number of their nation at Cæsarea. "Now the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour when the soldiers were slain, which, one would think, must have come to pass by the direction of Providence, insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonites, and Geraza, and Pella, and Scythopolis; and after them Gadara and Hippos, and falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire." *

One may conceive how great the hatred and animosity existing between the contending parties must have been, to lead to such tragical scenes as those which are detailed, in all their horror, by the pen of the same historian, in the pages immediately following this from which

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 18. s. 1.

the citation is made; as well as how soon the destruction of the proudest monuments might be effected by a rage too ungovernable to be awed either by a love of the arts, or even by a reverence for the temples of the gods themselves; more particularly when the actors were mostly Jews, who would rather assist than hinder the destruction of heathen altars. Yet it is recorded, to the honour of the people of Geraza, that their conduct formed a bright exception to the general behaviour of those who subsequently revenged themselves upon the people of the Jewish nation.

After describing an extraordinary instance of a man devoting himself and all his family to destruction by his own hands, the historian says, "Besides this number at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them: those of Askalon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few in bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a great number in prison; moreover those of Hippos and those of Gadara did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody, as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them, or were afraid of them: only the Antiochians, the Sidonians

and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds; and perhaps they spared them because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts; but I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerazens, they did no harm to those that abode with them, and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached. *

When the war had gained a still greater height, and the Roman general, afterwards Emperor Vespasian, with his son, Titus, was preparing for the siege of Jerusalem, the city of Geraza seems to have received the finishing stroke of its complete demolition. "And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He sent also Lucius Annius to Geraza, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand.

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 18. s. 5.

of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects, after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed; and what was remaining was all burnt down." *

It must, even after this, however, have been restored, if the inscription on the altar be applied to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Gibbon enumerates this city among the line of fortresses from Bosra to Petra, which formed the frontier of the Syrian provinces in the Lower Empire, and the barrier which was opposed to the Saracen invaders of that country from the East. It was, probably, the holy zeal of these turbaned conquerors, if any thing yet remained to offend it in the works of pagan hands, that overturned the altars, destroyed the temples, and violated the tombs and sepulchres of this city of idolaters; for here they would have found, at every step, a plea for the use of their destroying engines, in bringing to the ground the impious representations forbidden by the Koran of their prophet. We met with nothing, however, that seemed to be indicative either of Christians having de-

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 9. s. 1.

fended, or of Moslems having destroyed the place, at the period spoken of. All was Roman, as it has been described; and the impression made on our minds while traversing its ruins was, that this people had been both the first founders, and the last inhabitants, of the city as it is now seen.

It was past noon when we quitted the ruins of Geraza, going out at the northern gate, and ascending the hill beyond it. The rain had continued so incessantly, and had now set in with such violence, that it became difficult to walk, from the weight of our loose garments. In ascending the steep northern heights, we passed again through the necropolis, meeting with some few grottoes, and innumerable sarcophagi of stone, chiefly sculptured with shields and wreaths. Our way became so fatiguing, that we often halted to draw breath, and threw ourselves, with pleasure, on the wet ground, to catch a moment's repose. Our thirst too was so extreme, from long continued exertion, that we often stooped to lap up a little dirty water with our tongues, from the bottom of a broken sarcophagus, or from the little hollows which time had worn in the natural rock.

At length, after the most fatiguing journey on foot that I remember ever to have performed, we reached the village of Soof, and

entering into the public room where we had taken up our quarters, it was a luxury of the highest kind to strip myself completely naked, and to stretch my limbs on one straw mat, while they were covered only by another. My companion was better provided in this respect, as his Albanian interpreter furnished him with sufficient dry covering for the moment; but we were so far made equal by fatigue, that we both sunk alike into a sweet and sound sleep, though breathing an atmosphere overcharged with the smoke of green wood, and the steam from our wet clothes, and stunned by the vociferations of the disputing villagers, who had all collected round the fire to shelter themselves from the rain.

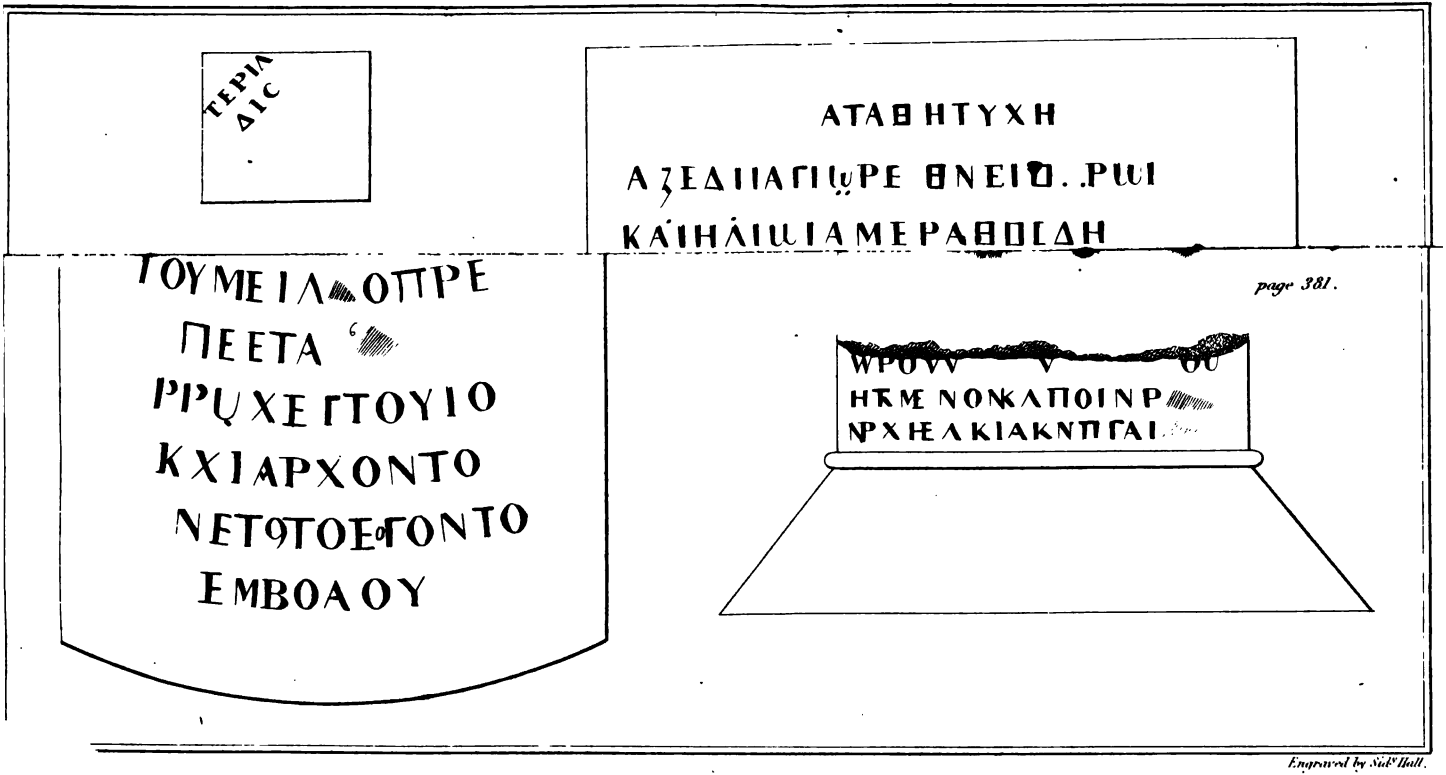
When we awoke, the first piece of intelligence brought to us was, that Mr. Bankes' horse, which he had bought only a few days since at Jerusalem, had died suddenly in the stable. One of the most bigotted Moslems of the party, who had already suspected us to be Christians, or Jews, or magicians, insisted on this event being a signal proof of God's displeasure against us; and to this a very general assent was given. The suspicions on which this construction of our misfortune was grounded, had, indeed, gained strength among all. While the Albanian was employed in drying Mr. Bankes' clothes at the fire, around which the

general circle was assembled, these peasants regarded the shirt and drawers, which were of fine calico, as proofs of some difference between our real character, and that which we endeavoured to impose on them by our outward appearance. The consequences of so trifling a deviation from prescribed usage were, however, in this instance, nearly fatal to us. The cry of complaint, and even of opprobrium, became so general against us, as unknown wanderers, that we knew not where it would end; while Mr. Bankes not knowing the language of the country, and not having yet acquired a facility of conforming himself to Mohammedan attitudes, and the forms of salutation, and manner of address, among them, rendered it impossible for him to pass as an Arab, and not long even as a Turk: so that we were driven to subterfuge and evasion, for only an uncertain safety at best.

In the course of the conversation which passed among the people themselves, on the ruins of Jerash, we learned that about five or six years since, a person was known to have visited them, and was said to have spent several days there in writing and examining every part of them. They described him as a Muggrebin, and said that he spoke only western Arabic; but added, that he wore a beard, prayed, and was

observant of the dictates of Islam. From the date, and other circumstances, it is likely enough that this was Dr. Seetzen, the first discoverer of the ruins of the city, who has since died in Arabia. Mr. Buckhardt, the only European known to have visited this spot since Dr. Seetzen, journeyed so completely as an Arab of the country, that it is not at all to be wondered at, that he should have passed here without exciting notice. His visit, however, enabled him to copy an inscription there, which we did not see, as well as two others at this village itself, of which we dared not to make any enquiry, for fear of increasing the suspicions already existing against us. These inscriptions were given by Mr. Buckhardt to Mr. Bankes, as well as to myself, and as they may be interesting they are inserted with the others.

The whole of the company were unanimously of opinion, that immense treasures were buried beneath the ruins of Jerash; and they were as firmly persuaded that the excavation of them was the sole object of our visit, of whatsoever religion we might be. They assured us, however, that a guardian genius, or demon, under the form of an immense bird, held the whole in too great security for it to be taken away by mortals, unless some magic arts were used to



Engraved by Sidᵉ Hall.

London, Published, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, August, 1821.

charm him into consent. This bird, they said, appeared among the ruins on every eighth day; and there were even some of the party who positively insisted on having seen him there with their own eyes; gravely adding, that its form was different from that of all other known animals, and its size enormous beyond description.

Such were the tales of the evening, to which we listened in silence. They were not totally devoid of instruction, inasmuch as they offered a striking proof of how strongly the love of the marvellous prevails among the uninformed part of mankind.

It was past midnight before the assembly broke up, when our Arab guides were as happy to be relieved from their presence as we ourselves were; for these villagers of Soof seemed to hate the Bedouins only one degree less than they did the infidels and necromancers whom they had made their companions.

CHAP. XXII.

FROM SOOF TO OOM KAIS.

February 2d. The rain fell violently at day-break; but as the sun rose its force abated; and from the alarming suspicions and suggestions of the people here regarding us, we determined on quitting Soof at all events.

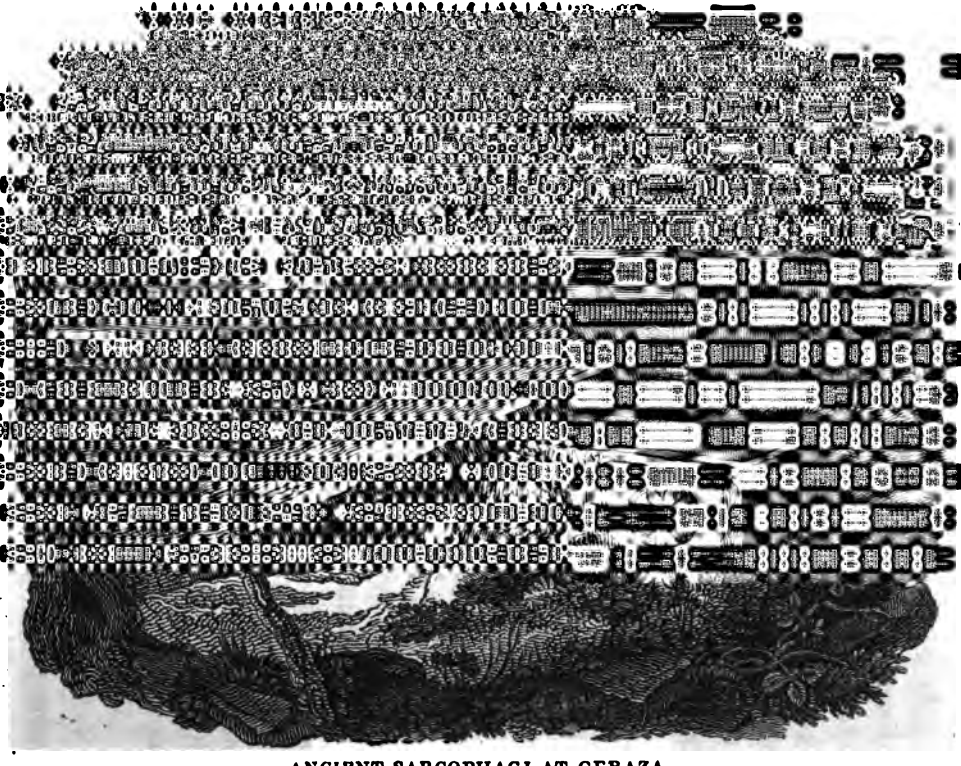
We accordingly mounted; and Mr. Bankes being now without a horse, from the death of his own on the preceding evening, the Arabs dismounted by turns to accommodate him with the constant use of one of theirs. We continued our road from Soof in a N. W. direction, descending into a fine valley, and again rising on a gentle ascent, the whole being profusely and beautifully wooded with evergreen oaks below, and pines upon the ridge of the hills above, as well as a variety of the lesser trees.

This forest, for it fully deserved the name, continued for about four or five miles, when we opened on a more park-like scenery, the ground showing here and there a rich green turf, and the woods becoming less crowded than before. The soil of the road on which we travelled was

clayey, with a fine yellow gravel on the surface; and the track was broad and beaten.

As we descended to a lower level, the pines disappeared, and on the side of one of the hills, close to the road on our right, we observed a grotto, carefully hewn down in front, with an arched door of entrance, and a small court and cistern before it. On alighting to examine it, we found it to be an excavated tomb, now containing three stone sarcophagi, of the usual form and size. Were it not for the actual presence of these, we should have thought it to have been a cell of residence for some solitary living being, rather than a place of sepulture for the dead, as we knew of no ancient site in the immediate vicinity of the place, nor could we find any traces of other tombs near. Although this solitude had been chosen, and wild bushes had so overgrown its front as almost to conceal it from the view, this sepulchre had been violated as well as all the rest, and its cistern was choked, its court partly filled up, and its sarcophagi uncovered and empty.

We continued our route from hence, still in a N. W. direction, while the mountains of Nablous were pointed out to us in the distance on our left. We reached at length a beautiful dell, wooded round on all sides, where we found a small encampment of Bedouins striking their



ANCIENT SARCOPHAGI AT GERAZA.

tents, and removing from the more open part of the vale to seek shelter beneath the trees, as the rain still continued.

Alighting here to take a pipe and coffee, we met with two pilgrims who had recently returned from Mecca, and the salutations of peace passed between us as children of the same faith. Mohammed, the Albanian soldier who accompanied Mr. Bankes, had been himself at Mecca during Mohammed Ali Pasha's campaign in the Hedjaz, besides which, he possessed a sort of certificate of his having visited the great mosque of Solomon, which stands on the site of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem; and, at the same time that he talked loudly of Arasat, and the Caaba, he showed this, as a paper from the sheriff of Mecca. The ignorance of the pilgrims, who were returning to Sham, prevented them from detecting the imposition, and they were satisfied with seeing on it the double-bladed sword of the prophet, by which the infidels were to be cut off from the earth. I had myself learnt so much also of Mecca, and its pilgrimage, as to be prepared to answer almost any questions that could have been proposed to me by them, and therefore all went well with us. The Bedouins, however, as usual, never troubled themselves either about the prophet or his injunctions, and seemed

almost as indifferent to the conversation as if it were in a foreign tongue.

In the mean time a large fire was kindled, warm cakes were baked for us, coffee burnt, pounded, and prepared, our pipes lighted, and, in short, every office performed for our comfort and refreshment, by these hospitable wanderers, without a thought of compensation.

After a stay of about half-an-hour, we departed from hence, continuing still through the most beautifully-wooded scenery on all sides. Mr. Bankes, who had seen the whole of England, the greater part of Italy, and France, and almost every province of Spain and Portugal, frequently remarked, that in all his travels, he had met with nothing equal to it, excepting only in some parts of the latter country, Entre Minho, and Duoro, to which he could alone compare it. It is certain, that we were perpetually exclaiming, at every turn, How rich! How picturesque! How magnificent! How beautiful! and that we both conceived the scenery alone to be quite worth all the hazard and privation of a journey to the eastward of Jordan.

The woods growing gradually more open as we proceeded, we came at length in sight of distant hills, of a dull grey hue, stoney and bare. The land between these contrasted ex-

tremes, presented still a fine green turf, and marks of having been once cultivated, as the stones were laid out in ridges, to mark the boundaries of enclosures; and in other places were gathered up in heaps, as if to clear the soil.

On our left, we passed a village standing on the verge of a hill, and distant from our road about a mile, which the Arabs called Samoon; and soon afterwards, as we gained a sufficient height to look over the last ridge of barren hills described, the extensive plain of the Hauran was opened to us on our right, spreading as far as the eye could reach, and having the horizon for its boundary in all directions.

At the foot of the hills, where the western edge of the plain commenced, stood the village of Hussun, in which there seemed to be a tower or castle, and walls around it; and still further on, at the distance of about a mile, were scattered heaps of stone, that looked from hence like ruins, but of what age they might have been we could not learn.

The plain itself appeared to be highly cultivated; its ploughed lands showing themselves in brown patches only, as the long drought had kept back all appearance of the young corn. The road of the pilgrims, from Damascus to

Mecca, was pointed out to us as running nearly north and south through this plain, and passing through Sal and Arimza, the former a village, and the latter a considerable town, both visible from hence, with beaten paths leading to each of them easterly across the plain.

Proceeding onward, we observed a number of wrought stones near the road, and several rude grottoes, which seemed to indicate the site of some former settlement; and soon after noon, when the rain began to abate, and the sky grew clear, we reached the village of Aidoone, where we alighted to refresh.

This village, which consists of about thirty or forty dwellings, is singularly seated on the brow of a rude cliff or quarry, in such a way that many of its buildings are half constructed of masonry, and half gained by excavation out of the rock; the whole presenting an appearance of poverty and want of comfort, beyond any thing we had lately seen. We entered into the public room here, in which we found above twenty persons already seated around a fire on the floor. Place was made for us instantly; and, by order of the Sheikh, who was under the Pasha of Damascus, warm cakes, olive-oil, and honey were served to us, with pipes and coffee, and the comfort of a fire to warm and dry ourselves.

These people were far less inquisitive, and more civil than those of Soof, and seemed even to have a milder cast of countenance.

Leaving the village of Aidoone, we passed again by some good cisterns, excavated out of the rocks, and saw, near them, several fragments of ancient masonry; when, continuing S. W. over a barren tract, we passed in about an hour under the village of Erbeed. This, though now small, is seated on an eminence which commands the country for some distance round, and enjoys an admirable position for a city. We saw here an octagonal tower, of good workmanship, probably of the Saracen age; and near this a large reservoir for water, well-lined with masonry of hewn stones, and descended into by steps, resembling the famous cisterns which are called the pools of Solomon, near Jerusalem, though not quite so large.

About an hour and half before sunset, still continuing through a stoney and barren tract of land, with patches of cultivation here and there only, we reached the village of Bahrahah, where our halt was fixed for the night. This place stands at the bottom of a gentle declivity, and has some few portions of good red soil around it, but its neighbourhood is entirely destitute of wood. On entering it, we observed the ruined arches of an old mosque, of very

excellent masonry, and within the walls, the capitals of two Doric columns, in white marble, and some scattered shafts of the same material. In the court of the Khan, where we alighted, was a fine sarcophagus, of a black porous stone, of a basaltic or volcanic nature. It bore on its sides sculptured devices, and had evidently been executed with great care; but from whence it had been brought we could not learn. We found another sarcophagus of the same material, and several large hewn stones were seen in different parts of the town, which, with the marble columns in the ruined mosque, induced us to conclude that this also had been the site of some ancient settlement.

The present village of Bahrahah does not contain more than fifty dwellings, and is governed by a Sheikh, who acknowledges the authority of the Pasha of Damascus. He questioned us very strictly about our papers and the object of our journey, and we only escaped by having Mr. Bankes's soldier with us, who replied, that he was in the service of the Pasha himself, and had been sent from Jerusalem to protect and accompany us to Sham.

We were accommodated with good shelter in a covered room; but for our horses and ourselves we were obliged to purchase provisions, this constituting the chief difference between an

an Arab village and an Arab camp. The population here are all Mohammedans, and from some cause which no one could explain, there was a remarkable deficiency in the proportion of female inhabitants.

3d. We quitted the village of Bahrahah at an early hour, and having a fine day, proceeded on our journey with quickened pace. The first inhabited spot we saw was the hamlet of Beit-el-Ras, on the hills to the right of our track, where there are said to be considerable ruins and caverns.

A few miles to the north of Beit-el-Ras is a place called Abil, which is described to be situated on the angle of a mountain, and is said also to contain caverns. It is now totally abandoned, but is reported to possess some fine ruins of large edifices, walls, arches, columns, &c., some of which last are without the walls of the town, and from their size must have belonged to some temple or palace. This is near to Beit-el-Ras, and is only one day's journey, or from twenty to thirty miles from El Hussun, the first town at the foot of these hills to the N. E., on entering from hence the great plain of the Hauran, and may probably be the Abila of Josephus.*

A few miles further on, we came to the village of Tugbool, which, like the last, was very small;

* Ant. of the Jews, b. 19. c. v. s. 1.

as well as another cluster of houses on the left, called Cufr Sou.

Continuing on our way, we reached, in about three hours after our first setting out, a stoney tract of hill, in which were some few grottoes, and a number of sepulchres hewn down into the rock, exactly as our common graves are now dug in the earth. Some of them were several feet in depth, others only a few inches below the surface, and all were now full of water. They were exceedingly numerous, and seemed, from their want of uniformity in size and relative positions, as well as from the peculiarity of their construction, to have been the works of a very distant age, and the sepulchres of a rude people.

Passing onward over this bare and hilly tract, we had on the right, at some little distance, the villages of Simma and Jejean; and on the left, far off among the hills, was pointed out to us the town of Tibbany, of a larger size. We then passed the small village of Sar on the right; and before noon reached Foharrah, where we alighted to refresh.

Our place of entertainment here was one of those square towers with loop-holes and other marks of Saracenic work, such as we had seen in almost all the villages we had yet passed, from Soof to this place, and were unquestionably intended for security and defence. Our reception

was as kind as at the place of our halting on the preceding day; and after a meal of warm cakes and oil, we prepared to depart. The village of Foharrah, which occupies two divisions, contains from three to four hundred inhabitants, all Mohammedan, and is under the direction of a Sheikh subject to Damascus; its situation is low, and the country around it is bare and uninteresting.

From hence we continued to ascend on our way, still directing our course to the N. W., inclining somewhat more westerly than before. The country into which we had now entered, resembled that in the midst of which Jerusalem stands; bleak stoney hills, with scanty soil and few spots even capable of cultivation. The view around us, too, was as monotonous as that from the Holy City, and formed a striking contrast of positive ugliness to the rich and verdant beauties of the enchanting scenery through which we had recently passed in the land of Bashan and Gilead, and in the approach to and departure from the ruins of Geraza.

On the left we passed the village of Seyfeen, and reaching now the summit of the hills we had been ascending, we came among some few clusters of wood, and at about three hours after noon, approached the modern settlement of Oom Kais, on the site of the ancient Gamala, whose ruins we alighted to examine.

CHAP. XXIII.

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT GAMALA.

As we approached these ruins from the east, our attention was first attracted by the sight of several grottoes facing towards that quarter, and forming apparently the necropolis of the city on the eastern brow of the hill. The first two that we examined, were plain chambers, hewn down so as to present a perpendicular front, and having the posts and architraves of door-ways, but destitute of sculpture or other ornament, either interior or exterior. The third, however, delighted and surprised us as much as if it had been a discovery of the highest importance. We had heard much of the stone-doors and ceilings of the ruined towns in the Hauran, which were thought to be the works of the old Chaldean age, and we had seen with regret the destruction of those which closed the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, and which, from their being supposed to be unique, had given these monuments a claim to a higher antiquity than they perhaps possess; so that our gratification was higher than can be described in finding here a tomb with its stone-

door as perfect as on the day of its being first hung.

On entering it, we found an excavated chamber of about seven feet in height, twelve paces long, and ten broad: and within it a smaller room not more than ten feet deep and twelve wide; the whole irregularly hewn, without regard to uniformity of dimensions or design, and having its walls and roofs quite rough. The outer front, however, was extremely perfect, and was descended to by a gradual slope, the space being cut away out of the hill.

The rock out of which the chambers were excavated was a coarse grey lime-stone; but the portals and architrave of the door-way, as well as the door itself, were all of the black basaltic stone, of which we had seen sarcophagi at Bahrahah. The portals were solid, and, though plain, were well-hewn and squared. The architrave, which was broad and deep, was ornamented in front with three busts of coarse execution; the head bare, the face full, and the ears prominent, like the heads sometimes, but rarely, seen among Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The door, which was seven spans high, was pannelled by a double moulding, in four oblong squares, and divided by a perpendicular line, left in relief upon its centre, and resembling exactly a bar of iron, with five studs, like the

heads of iron bolts. The greatest peculiarity was, perhaps, the small stone knocker, in the centre of one of the pannels, cut like the seeming iron bars and bolts, all of it of one solid stone, and of a piece with the door itself, so as to give it the appearance of a well-secured dwelling on approaching it.

The door was fixed like those in the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, by a long circular spindle, running up into a cell in the thick and solid architrave above, and a short lower pivot bedded in a shallower socket in the threshold below; these pivots being both of a piece with the door itself. By clearing away the rubbish, we found the door to traverse easily on its hinges, and we could see that the manner of hanging it must have been to insert first, the upper spindle into the circular hole in the architrave, and then to bring the lower pivot immediately over its socket, suffering it to fall into it; as the space between the upper part of the door and the foot of the architrave, was just equal to the length of the pivot below. A small overlapping piece was left to descend like a moulding, at the foot of the architrave in front, so that, though the vacant space was visible when the door was open, this stone ledge completely covered it when the door was closed.

Leaving this tomb, we ascended the hill, and

found others still more interesting; as, besides the door of the same construction still standing, we entered one in which were ten sepulchres, ranged along the inner wall of the chamber in a line, being pierced inward for their greatest length, and divided from each other by a thin partition left in the rock, in each of which was cut a small niche in front, for a lamp, as in the royal tombs at Jerusalem. Several of these niches were seen also on the side-walls of this excavation; and though every sepulchre had been violated, some of the sarcophagi, broken and reversed, still remained in the room.

At the side of this chamber was an opening, communicating with a larger and more rude excavation, in which was a dark arched passage of some length; as a stone which was thrown in returned no sound, though propelled with all our force.

The outer door was exactly similar to the one last described, both in size and design; having the pannels, the studded bar, and the knocker, as well as a small cavity near the centre of its side-edge, with a corresponding opening in the opposite portal, for some kind of fastening or bolt to be let in. The ornament of the architrave, instead of the busts before described, was a garland in the centre, with a full blown flower on each side.

Among a number of other tombs which we entered, all very similar in design, some without sarcophagi, and others containing several, both perfect and broken, we found one door entirely plain; another having only the studded bar down the middle, without pannels or knocker; and another more strongly ornamented with imitations of iron-bolts, as if to represent an additional effort for security. The ornaments of the architraves were chiefly garlands and flowers, and these, with their portals and thresholds, were all of the black stone. The door last described was still hanging, and some sarcophagi were lying within the chamber which it guarded. *

Beyond these we found innumerable sarcophagi of the same basaltic material, some highly ornamented with garlands and wreaths, others with heads of Apollo, and little Cupids, or genii with wings, joining hands together beneath those heads; and some with shields, as we had seen them at Geraza. The covers, which were numerous,

* Capt. Beaufort met with tombs similar to these in Asia Minor. He says, "At Makry, Myra, and other places, is the excavated catacomb, with the entrance carefully closed by a slab, which is not inserted, but worked in the external face of the rock, and curiously pannelled, in such exact imitation of a wooden door, that even the representation of the nail-heads and hinges is not omitted." — Beaufort's Caramania, p. 191. 8vo.

were all pent-roofed, and had, at their corners, the quarter section of the globe in the Roman style, as well as marks of their fastenings to the lower part of the sarcophagi, still remaining. At the ends were generally wreaths of flowers or rings, and on the sides the devices described; but none presented specimens of very fine sculpture, for which, indeed, the stone itself was unfit. There were scarcely less than two hundred of these sarcophagi perfect, besides the broken ones; and all were torn out of the tombs, and laid in heaps above-ground.

At length we reached the summit of the hill on which the ruins of the Roman city stands; and though the country around is stoney and bare, and the hills destitute of wood or verdure, it was impossible not to admire the commanding view from hence, and the extent and grandeur of the scene, devoid as it was of more finished or softer beauties. Beneath us, on the N. E., flowed the Nahr-el-Hami, or the ancient Hieromax, coming from the eastward, through high cliffs on its northern bank, and a bed of verdant shrubs on its southern, and bending its way by the hot springs and ruins of the Roman bath on its edge, to increase the waters of the Jordan. On the N. W., in a deep hollow, surrounded by lofty hills, was the still sea of Galilee *, or lake

* Mark, vii. 31.

of Gennessaret *, on the southern bank of which stood the small village of Sumuk, and on the western the town of Tiberias, still preserving nearly its ancient name. From this lake, now unruffled by the slightest breeze, the Shereeah of the Arabs, or the Jordan of earlier days, was seen to issue, and wind its southern course through a desert plain, between the mountains of Judea and those of Arabia, till it emptied itself from this second reservoir into the larger one of the Dead Sea. The whole view, indeed, was as grand from its scenery as it was interesting from the recollections which it could not fail to inspire.

After devoting about an hour to the examination of the ruins of Gamala, and traversing them on foot in every direction, we were enabled to perceive that the city formed nearly a square; its greatest length being from east to west, which we found to measure one thousand six hundred and seventy paces, of about two feet each, or just half a mile; and its breadth, perhaps, one fourth less. The upper part of the city stood on a level spot, on the summit of the hill, and appears to have been walled all around, the acclivities of that hill being on all sides exceedingly steep, and having appearances of

* Luke, v. 1.

ruined buildings, even on their steepest parts. The eastern gate of entrance has its portals still remaining, and was near the northern wall. From hence a noble street ran through the whole length of the city, extending the number of paces mentioned, as it was along this that the measurement was taken. This street was fifteen paces, or about thirty feet in breadth, from pillar to pillar: as it had a colonnade of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, at intervals lining it in avenues on each side, as at the ruins of Geraza. The street was paved throughout with fine squared blocks of the black volcanic stone, and this pavement was still so perfect, that the ruts of carriage-wheels were to be seen in it, of different breadths, and about an inch in depth, as at the ruins of Pompeii in Italy.

The first edifice which presented itself, on entering at the eastern gate, was a theatre on the left, the scene and front of which was entirely destroyed, but its benches were still remaining, and it faced towards the north. Still further on, were appearances of an Ionic temple, the colonnade of the street being continued; and, at about the centre of its length, a range of Corinthian columns, on pedestals, marked the site of a grand edifice on the left. Not a column now remained erect, but the plan could be distinctly traced. This apparent

temple was a hundred paces in depth from north to south, or from the street inward; and its façade, which fronted the street and came in a line with the grand colonnade before described, was about seventy paces in breadth. The chief peculiarity of this edifice was, that it was built on a range of fine arches, so that its foundations were higher than the general level of the town, and the pedestals of its columns were elevated considerably above the level of the street, by which it must have been rendered most conspicuous.

At the southern end of this edifice was a second theatre, open toward the west, and fronting the central cross-street, which here intersected the city from north to south, at right-angles with the larger one running from east to west. This second theatre had only a portion of its front preserved, but its benches and doors of entrance, the pavement of its stage, and part of its scene, were as perfect as either of those at Geraza, to which it was also equal in size and similar in general design; but it was in less perfect preservation, and, on the whole, inferior in the taste and execution of its details to either of them.

Besides the edifices enumerated, there were appearances of several other buildings, but all now too indistinct to pronounce on their nature.

The prevalent orders of architecture which we observed, were Ionic and Corinthian; though some few Doric capitals were seen. The stone was sometimes the grey rock of the mountain, and sometimes the black volcanic stone used in the tombs and sarcophagi, of which there were several shafts of pillars and other blocks for masonry.

As the ruins here described are not immediately on the position generally assigned to Gamala on the maps, and as the only person who has given any notice to the world of having visited them inclines to think that they are those of Gadara *, it may be well to insert the description of the former place by the historian who was contemporary with its destruction by Vespasian, and who, indeed, himself fortified and fought in it.

This writer says, "Gamala is a city over against Tarichea, but on the other side of the lake (of Tiberias). This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia, and these were both parts of Gaulanitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the lower." †

* Vide a letter from Dr. Seetzen to the editor of L'Ambigu, inserted in No. 253. of that work.

† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 1. s. 1.

The boundaries of the kingdom of the elder Agrippa, or Agrippa the Great, the grandson of Herod, were at first similar to those of his grandfather at the period of his death, but were afterwards enlarged by the bounty of Claudius.* "Now on the death of Herod, a Jewish embassy went from Jerusalem to Rome to petition for the liberty of living by their own laws, and to accuse Herod, in his late reign, of iniquitous and tyrannical government, under the hope of kingly power being dissolved in Judea, and of their being added to Syria, and ruled under such presidents as might be sent to them from hence. Nicolaus vindicated Herod from these accusations; and when Cæsar had heard the pleadings on both sides, he dissolved the assembly: but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of one-half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas; that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid

* Joseph. Antiq. b. xix. c. 5. s. 1.

their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar, who decreed them that mitigation because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Stratos' tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria." *

These, then, where the boundaries of Herod's kingdom at the period of his death. The same historian informs us afterwards, that Claudius, after the early misfortunes which Agrippa had undergone, not only confirmed to him the kingdom which Caius had given to him, but made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned: that is, Judea and Samaria. "This," says, the

* Joseph. Antiq. b. xvii. c. 11. s. 4.

Jewish writer, "Claudius restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, he bestowed them upon him, as *out* of his own territories." *

Notwithstanding that it is usual to place the district of Abylene far to the northward, between Syro-Phenicia, and Cœle-Syria, I think it by no means improbable that it was seated here near the lake of Tiberias, and much to the southward of the limits generally assigned to it. It seems agreed, on all hands, that it derived its name from its capital, Abila; and, as we have seen, there is now a large ruined city in this very neighbourhood, retaining still the name of Abeel, and having marks of former grandeur, which could only have belonged to a place of some consequence. † In the enumeration of the provinces of which Herod's kingdom was composed, Perea and Galilee are first mentioned, as being probably the most productive, and for the sake of naming the sum which they paid to Archelaus in yearly tribute; but it is *after* Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, the most northern provinces, and before those of Idumea, and Judea, and Samaria, the most southern ones, that Abilene is mentioned, as if really lying

* Joseph. Antiq. b. xix. c. 5. s. 1.

† See also Dr. Seetzen's Letter in L'Ambigu, No. 254.

between these extremes in the order of enumeration.

The Evangelist St. Luke, in fixing the date of John the Baptist's coming from the wilderness beyond Jordan to preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, says that this happened in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene.* The learned Grotius, in his note on this passage, which is quoted by Dr. Hudson and Whiston, as explanatory of that expression of Josephus which says that *part* of the country only, called the house of Zenodorus, paid tribute to Philip, observes, "When Josephus says that some part of the house or possession of Zenodorus, i. e. Abilene, was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another; this other was Lysanias, whom Luke mentions, of the posterity of that Lysanias who was possessed of the same country called Abilene, from the city Abila,

* Luke, iii. 1.—Ptolemy also calls this city Abila of Lysanias, as Spanheim observes. Whiston thinks it to have been originally a part of Canaan. See his notes on the passage in Josephus, as referred to.

and by others Chalcidene, from the city of Chalcis, when the government of the East was under Antonius, and this after Ptolemy, the son of Menneus; from which Lysanias, this country came to be commonly called the country of Lysanias; and as, after the death of the former Lysanias, it was called the Tetrarchy of Zenodorus, so, after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lysanias, of the same name with the former, was possessed of the same country, it began to be called the Tetrarchy of Lysanias." *

It is clear, therefore, that the names of Zenodorus and Lysanias were names which this territory derived from those of its rulers at different periods; while that of Abilene, from its capital of Abila, was its more general and permanent one; and since this is positively said to have been bestowed on Agrippa by Claudius, as *out* of his own territories, one of the borders of his kingdom, upon which Gamala is said to have lain, must have been here near to this very spot. If objection be taken to its then forming an isolated spot, surrounded by districts under the government of Agrippa, and more particularly to its being mentioned at the same time with the

* Grotius on Luke, iii. 1.

country that lay at Mount Libanus, it may be replied, that there were many similar instances of isolated districts and towns, either independent, or subject to other governors, or enjoying peculiar privileges, as may be seen in the constant enumeration of such by Josephus; and even here, in the instance before us, where Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, places wide apart from each other, one to the east of Jordan, and one in the very south of Palestine, bordering on the desert of Idumea, were separated by Cæsar from the government of Archelaus, and added to the province of Syria.

Thus much may suffice for the general position of this place. Let us examine now more closely its minuter local features, as furnished us by the same animated and accurate pen. He says, "Now, Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Iotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accu-

rately* : both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch here, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south; and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city." †

It is impossible, that any one but an actual observer of the place at the moment he wrote, or one to whom all its features were familiar from long residence on it, could give so accurate a description of this spot as is here done by the Jewish warrior and historian. The rough ridge

* جمل, Jemel, or, as it is pronounced in Egypt, and in some parts of Syria, Gemel or Gamal-hard, is still the Arabic name for a camel, called جمّاز, Jammaz, in the dictionaries.

† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 1. s. 1.

of the high mountain on which the city is seated, the neck in the middle by which it is connected to the land behind, the easy ascent to the city from this part, and the abrupt parts on the side and face of the hill ending in vast deep valleys below, are all features too prominently marked to be mistaken, and remain as permanently conspicuous now, as they were in the days of its glory.*

From the small size of the space which occupies the level on the summit of the hill, about half a mile in length by a quarter broad, and which is covered with colonnaded streets, temples, theatres, palaces, and great public buildings, surrounded with a wall and gates, there is great reason to believe that this was the citadel. It stands, as the Jewish writer describes it, on the south, to which it is exposed; and, as he says, this southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, might well stand in the nature of a citadel to the city. The precipice

* D'Anville, in speaking of Gaulon, the capital of the territory of Gaulanitis, says, "Gamala n'en étoit pas loin, presque inaccessible par son assiette sur des rochers bordées des precipices, et dont on connoît la situation, en ce qu'elle n'étoit separée que par l'extrémité du Lac de Tiberiade, d'un lieu assez considerable que les salaisons qu'on y faisoit du poisson, pêché dans le lac appeller Tarishæa. Geog. Anc. p. 188. folio, Paris, 1769. Its present Arabic name of سمك, Sumuk, signifies also a fish, and is doubtless a corrupted translation of is original one.

above, (or to the *southward*, for this expression could not have been meant to apply to altitude, as this was already the highest part of the mountain) was not walled about, but extended itself to an immense depth, as he himself describes it; and we were assured, that there was a spring of water within the wall, as he affirms, and that this was the only one now known on the whole hill, though, from our occupation in examining the buildings, we had not time to go and see it.

The city, which is said to have hung so strangely, that it looked as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp was it at the top, was no doubt spread out on the northern side of the hill, since it was the southern mount that was in the nature of a citadel to it. Along the brow of the steep descent on the north, and facing the valley of the Hieromax, and the hot springs, as well as the town and lake of Tiberias, are seen the remains of private dwellings, which must, as described, have appeared from below to have stood literally one upon another; and from the great distance at which this city could be seen, it must have seemed to hang so strangely as to threaten its own fall.

The preservation of the edifices within the citadel, and the almost complete destruction of those that were spread around its foot on the side of the hill below, may easily be understood.

This upper city, like the western division at Geraza, was reserved for the temples, theatres, palaces, and other public edifices, and all the pomp of architecture appears to have been concentred in this small space, where not a private dwelling seems to have been suffered to intrude. There are appearances in some parts of this space, as if the rock had been artificially levelled for the purpose of erecting the buildings there on a more uniform plan; and it is from the circumstance of their level site and massy construction, that they have continued to brave the ravages of violence and time, while almost every trace of the lower city has disappeared.

Inasmuch as the situation and construction of the buildings within the citadel were favourable to their preservation, so were those of the private dwellings calculated to hasten their destruction from the moment of their being abandoned. We know, from the description of the siege, that the greater part of these dwellings, indeed, were demolished; and the details of this are so particularly explanatory of the speedy way in which buildings similarly situated would contribute to their own destruction, that it is worth while to insert the passage.

"Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude

of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while, indeed, they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and broke in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going farther, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the

people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts; and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap on the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them, lost some of their limbs, but still a great number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God; and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses, and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets,

and were perpetually tumbling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemy's side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to dispatch such as were only half-dead; nay, there were a great number, who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor indeed, was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd." *

It is plain, too, that the upper part, or the citadel, on the summit, had its own wall of enclosure as part, no doubt, of its original defence, besides the wall that had been built around the lower city by Josephus himself, just previous only to the siege, and thrown up on a sudden. It was thus resorted to as a last refuge by the soldiers and citizens, when the young Titus, who was just returned with his father, Vespasian, from the expedition against Mount Tabor, entered the city silently by night, with two hun-

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 1. s. 4.

dred chosen horsemen, and some footmen, to revenge the destruction of the Romans who had been slain in his absence. "Now, as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed, were prodigiously great every where, and the blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them.

However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them: nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon; nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant, as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape, except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son

of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of King Agrippa's army, and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as their infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel." *

But enough has been said to show that the local features of the present spot are exactly those which are given of Gamala; and the description of the ruins still remaining there, will best testify whether it was a place of consequence or not; and whether it was not well fitted for the obstinate defence which it offered to the arms of the all-conquering Romans. †

Mr. Seetzen has fixed on this as the site of Gadara, principally, as he says, on account of the hot-springs being near it. His account of this place omits all mention of the theatres, temples, avenues of columns, and curious tombs there, as well as of the striking local features of the mountain itself; so that one would almost

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 1. s. 10.

† Cellarius, in enumerating the cities of Batanea, and particularly those along the lake of Gennesareth, says, "Ejus ad Lacum Genesareth oppida erant Bethsaida, postea Julias appellata: Gamala, valide munita ac regio Γαμαλιτικὴ circa eam; et alia Julias, sed Betharamphtha prius dicta prope superius Jordanis ostium."— Geog. Ant. c. xxi. p. 97. 8vo.

infer that he had never visited it in person, but that he speaks positively as to the place of Oom Kais, which, it is true, is not immediately on the ruins themselves, so that he might have been at the one without seeing the other.

We are indebted to the pages of the same historian from whom we have already borrowed so largely, for the account of the capture of Gadara, by Vespasian, during the same war as that in which Gamala fell. He says, "Vespasian marched against Gadara, *the metropolis of Perea*, which was a place of great strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus (Adar); for the men of power had sent an embassage to him without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender, which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens were rich. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies, which were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city, so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus (a person not only

the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy) and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him; and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them." *

This city we see, therefore, was taken without a battle; and though it is said to have been strong, yet if it had possessed such remarkable features as those seen here at Gamala, so accurate a writer as Josephus is, and more particularly one so happy in the descriptions of places, could not well have passed them over. We know, however, from his account, this leading fact, that Gadara was the metropolis of Perea. This same writer, in his concise, but picturesque

* Wars of the Jews, b. iv. c. 7. s. 3.

descriptions of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, and his comparison of the former of these with Perea, says, "Now the length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western from Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia and Silbronitis, and besides, to Philadelphene and Gerasa." *

It is certain, therefore, that this Gadara must have been far to the southward of the lake of Tiberias, since it was the metropolis of Perea, whose most *northern* limit was Pella, which was itself considerably to the south of this, and near the brook of Jabbok, or nearly mid-way between that lake and the Dead Sea; while the city of Gamala and the region of Gamalitica were to the north of Perea. † From the details of what followed this easy capture of Gadara, there is every reason to believe, too, that it was seated among some of the valleys to the south of

* Wars of the Jews, b. iii. c. 3. s. 3.

† "Gamala Syriæ, Incola Gamaleus. Joseph. l. iv. Ant. Jud. Urbs fuit Gaulanitidis e regione urbis Tarichææ sita, unde regio Gamalitica nomen habet ad *septentrionem* Perææ sita, et à forma cameli quam repræsentebat dicta. De Bello. l. iv. c. 1." — Reland, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. p. 784.

Geraza, which lead out directly to the plain of the Jordan, as will be best seen by the extract of these particulars.

On the flight of the murderers of Dolesus from Gadara, they were pursued by a troop of five hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen of the Romans, under Placidus, who followed the fugitives just upon their backs, as it is said, until they ran for refuge into a certain walled village near, called Bethennabris. Here a battle ensued between the Romans and the people of this town, and the fugitives of Gadara, whose cause they espoused, combined, and the latter were cut up with great slaughter. After this contest, when such as were yet left alive of them sought to re-enter the walls of Bethennabris, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates; when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the people on the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on

every side: so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by a current (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable) he put his soldiers in array over against them, so the necessity the others were in, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into the Jordan was prodigious. There were, besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in

itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled, was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river." *

The distance, therefore, from Gadara to the Jordan, and from that part of it near the Lake Asphaltitis, must have been small, and the flight from the city to that river easy, all of which, added to the prominent fact of its being the capital of Perea, whose northern limit was Pella, would in no respect accord with the situation of the ruins here. We know, however, that Gamala was situated near the Lake of Tiberias, and on the other side of it, as opposed to Tarichæa †, which was near to Tibe-

* Wars of the Jews, l. iv. c. 7. s. 5. 6.

† Pliny places this city on the southern side of the lake, in his enumeration of the features of this part of the country. "The River Jordan," he says, "springeth from the fountain Paneade, which giveth the surname to the city Cæsarea; a pleasant river it is, and winds much, until its sweet waters are lost in the bitter ones of the Lake of Sodom or Asphaltitis. The lake of Gennesarah formed by it in the way, is sixteen miles long and six broad. On the *east* side of this lake, are the towns of Julias and Hippos; on the *south* Tarichæa; and on the *west* Tiberias, with its healthful baths of hot water." Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

A more

rias *, and consequently opposite to us from hence, so that no mistake can occur in this particular.

Gadara is thought to have been here by Mr. Seetzen, from the vicinity of the hot baths on the banks of the Hieromax to the north of it. I do not remember that such hot-baths are spoken of by any author as near to that city, they are certainly not mentioned by Josephus, yet he does not fail to remark those of Emmaus, which were near to Gamala. "Vespasian," he says, "removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp, before the city Tiberias, (for Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered 'a warm bath,' for therein is a spring of warm water useful for healing), and came to Gamala." †

Finally, this traveller conceives the village of Phik, which is on the east side of the Lake of Tiberias, nearly about the centre of its length, and also on a high mountain, to be the Gamala of antiquity, from the correspondence of its situation with that given of Gamala by Josephus; but unfortunately, his letter on this subject con-

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A more modern authority erroneously places it on the *east*: —"Tarichæa ad *orientale* maris Galilææ litus posita; olim fuit urbs munitissima, à Vespasiano tamen expugnata." Cluverius, l. v. c. xxi. p. 369.

* Wars of the Jews, l. iii. c. 10.

†. Ibid. b. iv. c. 1. s. 3.

tains only the suggestion, without the comparison or coincidences in detail. Mr. Paulus, however, according to this same writer, places Gamala on the *south* side of the Hieromax or Shereeat-al-Mandoor, as it is really found to be here at Oom Kais.

Pliny, indeed, makes express mention of Gadara among the cities of the Decapolis, and says, it is situated upon the river Hieromax, running even before it *, which is noticed also by D'Anville, who, at the same time that he places it near the Hieromax or the Yermuk, calls it also the capital of Perea from Josephus, and says, that its present name is Kedar. †

* The region of Decapolis joined to Judea on the Syrian side, and derived its name from the number of cities in it: these were not enumerated alike by all, but most men spoke of the cities of Damascus and Opotos watered by the river Chrysorrhoa. Also Philadelphia, renowned for the fruitful territory about it. Moreover, Scythopolis, taking name of the Scythians there planted; and before time, Nysa, so named of Prince, or Father Bacchus, by reason that his nurse was there buried. Also Gadara, *situate upon the river Hieromax, running even before it,* besides the above-named Hippos Dios, (on the *eastern* side of the Lake of Tiberias.) Likewise Pella, enriched with the good fountains; and last of all, Galaza, (Geraza,) and Canatha.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 18. Booth's Translation.

† Cette extrémité du lac Tiberias reçoit une riviere dont le nom est Hieromax, ou comme on dit actuellement Yermuk. Elle pase sous Gadara, ville considerable, et même qualifiée de capitale de la Perée par Joseph. Son nom sur le lieu est Kedar. Geog. Anc. p. 138. folio. Paris, 1769.

This Gadara, which was the capital of Perea, and so near to Jericho and the Dead Sea, could not, however, be the same Gadara as that by which the Hieromax passed, unless that stream rises much farther south than our maps represent it. We could learn nothing certain regarding the course or direction of this stream, nor was Kedar a name known to those of whom we enquired. We found no inscription during our short stay there to assist our judgment on this point; but after the coincidences already pointed out between the situation of the ancient city and that of the present ruins, little doubt can remain of their being those of Gamala as here assumed. *

There were throughout this country, however, so many places of the same name, as may be seen in those of Rama, Cana, Bethel, and Emmaus, of the Hebrews, and afterwards in those of Herodium, Cesarea, Julias, and others, in Roman times, that nothing is more probable

* Gamala is reckoned among the cities of Samaria by Cluverius; but the note on it preserves its local features, though it does not give its position accurately. "Gamala in monte sita erat, cameli figuram referenti, cujus capiti arx, gibbo reliquæ urbs inhærebat. Expugnata est ab Alexandro Judæorum Rege; ac deinde quoque à Vespasiano. Ab ea urbe circumjacens, regio dicta est Gamalitica, ponitur verò urbs illa trans Jordanem ab orientali Maris Galilææ, latere paullum remota. Introduct. Geog. l. v. c. xxi. p. 368.

than that there might be several smaller places called Gadara, independent of the city of that name, which was the metropolis of Perea, and the place whose site is thought by Dr. Seetzen to have been here at Gamala. * Express mention is made, indeed, of one Gadara, which is called a village of Gilead, where Alexander Janneus fell into an ambush, in a battle with the Arabians, where, in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. †

But, more generally, the name of Gadara is given to a district, no doubt, from the name of its capital, and a part of this district, at least, did certainly extend to the borders of the Lake of Tiberias. Though its capital might not have changed, either in name or situation, the borders of the district over which it was the head might frequently alter, and it might be common, at some periods, to include in this district of Gadara, or country of the Gadarenes, parts that were remote enough from the *city*,

* Reland, in his learned and laborious Illustrations of Palestine, has collected several of these with very slight variations of name. See lib. iii. de Urbibus et Vicis Palæstinæ, p. 773. to 778.

† Antiquities of the Jews, b. xiii. c. 13. s. 3.

which is alone contended for as being seated farther south, if, as already asserted, it was the capital of Perea, since that had Pella for its northern boundary, and was near the Jordan and the Lake Asphaltitis, and consequently remote from the Lake of Tiberias. * Josephus, in his Life, says, "When Justus had by his persuasions prevailed on the people of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many to do so against their will, he went out and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire, which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias and of the region of Scythopolis." † This latter region extended all along the plain of Jordan to the south, and would reach, indeed, to the western limits of Perea, and of Gadara as seated there. In the Jewish wars, when Gabinius had committed the care of the temple to Hyrcanus, but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy, "he parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning

* Gadara Perææ. Ita hanc urbem nuncupo ut distinguam ab alia quæ idem nomen gessit, et vicina fuit Nicopoli atque Diospoli, de qua mox. Fuit autem hæc urbs sita ad flumen Hieramacen, teste Plinio, l. v. c. 16.; μητρόπολις Perææ, teste Josepho, l. v. de Bello, c. iii., ad ortum sita lacus Tiberiadis *remota* à Tiberiade intervallo 60 stadiorum, uti idem testatur in historia vitæ suæ, p. 1025. Reland. Palæst. Illust. l. iii. p. 773.

† Life of Josephus, sect. ix.

one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee." *

All of these authorities bespeak a city of some consequence, and a district of some extent, and as such, the country comprised under the name of Gadarene, might well have reached from the region of Scythopolis to the borders of Tiberias. The eastern shores of the lake are often so called in the writings of the New Testament: a very striking instance may be quoted, after the stilling of the tempest on the sea of Galilee, where it is said, "And they came over into the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes," which, says the succeeding Evangelist, "is over against Galilee."

The account given of the habitation of the demoniac, from whom the legion of devils was

* Wars of the Jews, b. i. c. 8. s. 5.

Cellarius says, "Gadara ad ostium fluvii inferius quod et Chammat Tiberiadis cis fluvium, idem aut conjunctum oppidum est." And again, "Gadara cum vicina Gergesa, et orientem versus Pella." Geog. Ant. c. xxi. p. 97. 8vo.

Cluverius enumerates it among the cities of the Decapolis, and the commentator Bunoni, in a note on this enumeration, says, "Gadara monte imposita, paullo longius à Mari Galilææ *remota* erat." But testifies also to its strength, by adding, "inexpugnabilis prope habita." Int. Geog. l. v. c. 23. p. 374.

cast out here, struck us very forcibly, while we were ourselves wandering among rugged mountains, and surrounded by tombs, still used as dwellings by individuals and whole families of those residing here. * A finer subject for a masterly expression of the passions of madness in all their violence, contrasted with the serenity of virtue and benevolence in him who went about doing good, could hardly be chosen for the pencil of an artist; and a faithful delineation of the rugged and wild majesty of the mountain-scenery here on the one hand, with the still calm of the waters of the lake on the other, would give an additional charm to the picture.

Before we quitted the summit of the mountain on which all the principal ruins were, we

* "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not." St. Mark, v. 2—7.

went over to the edge of the precipice, for so this steep descent may be called, on the north-west angle of the hill. There were here, several ancient cisterns for the preservation of rain-water, which must have been exceedingly necessary in a place where there was only one spring to supply the wants of the whole population; and, indeed, it is said, that during the siege, one of the principal fears of the besieged was, that their water would fail them.

Of the subterraneous caverns through which the historian relates that some of the inhabitants escaped during the siege of the city, we could learn nothing, unless the remarkable passage ending in one of the tombs that we first examined, and there described as being unfathomable by a stone thrown in as far as possible without returning any sound, be considered as one of them. Passages of this nature are, however, so liable to be filled up at their mouths by rubbish, that traces of them are not to be expected at a period so remote as this from the time of the destruction of the city.

On a modern burying-ground of the villagers, near this north-west angle of the hill, where we remarked the ancient cisterns for the preservation of the rain-water, we observed a fantastic building of the Mohammedans, in the walls of

which the grey and black stones gathered from the ruins had been arranged in regular layers, so as to shew, by their succession, broad stripes of black and white, quite in the taste of the modern Egyptians, among whom, saints' tombs, mosques, &c. are so decorated with red and yellow horizontal lines, or like the great enclosure of Adjerood, near Suez, as well as the lower part of several buildings in that town.

On quitting these interesting ruins of a small colonial city, situated in a barren district, as unfavourable for agriculture and manufactures as for commerce, we could not but be forcibly struck with the luxury that must have prevailed here, and the wealth that must have existed, not merely to build such splendid temples and colonnades, but to support two large theatres for the entertainment of the living, and to construct such massy tombs and extensive sarcophagi, apparently for all classes of its dead, since the number of the latter, if considered to belong to the rich only, was disproportionately great, when compared with the size and probable population of the place.

On returning to the small village of Oom Kais, which lies scattered chiefly between the necropolis and the eastern wall of the ruined city, we found a meal of cakes and oil prepared for us, by a

white-bearded sheikh, and a crowd gathered around us, as usual, to enquire after the treasure we had been taking up out of the earth. We were treated here, however, with great kindness and civility, and furnished with food without demand of payment, the people being a mixture of shepherds and cultivators; some inhabiting the ancient Roman tombs, some living in rude dwellings formed by a circle of broken sarcophagi and other large stones on the spot; some dwelling in conical huts of reed, plastered on the outside with mud, like the Abyssinians, and other inhabitants of rainy climates, and others again reposing beneath tents woven from the hair and wool of their own flocks. The whole population of this settlement does not exceed two hundred, and these are all Mohammedans, their sheikh acknowledging the Pasha of Sham for his sovereign.

Before we departed, we were taken to see one of the ancient Roman tombs, now used as a carpenter's shop, the occupier of it being employed in constructing a rude plough, and in fixing the irons to one of those long Syrian goads, which serve to spur the animal with one end, and clear the plough of clods with the other. On examining the size and weight of this iron at the foot, Maundrell's conjecture

struck me as a very judicious one, that it might have been with such a weapon that Shamgar made the prodigious slaughter related of him. *

From this tomb we went to a still more perfect one, which was entirely cleared out, and now used as a private dwelling. Though the females of the family were within, we were allowed to enter, and descended by a flight of three steps, there being either a cistern or a deep sepulchre on the right of this descent. The portals and architrave were here perfectly exposed, the ornaments of the latter were a wreath and open flowers; the door also was divided by a studded bar, and pannelled, and the ring of the knocker remained, though the knocker itself had been broken off. The door, which was of the same size and thickness as those described, traversed easily on its hinges, and we were permitted to open and close it at pleasure. On examining it closely, all that has before been said on the mode of fixing and of fastening it, was confirmed, as we could here see every part of the construction more perfectly.

The tomb was about eight feet in height, on the inside, as there was a descent of a steep step

* And after him was Shamgar, the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad: and he also delivered Israel. — Judges, iii. 31.

from the stone threshold to the floor. Its size was about twelve paces square, but as no light was received into it except by the door, we could not see whether there was an inner chamber, as in some of the others. A perfect sarcophagus still remained within, and this was now used by the family as a chest for corn, and other provisions, so that this violated sepulchre of the dead had thus become a secure, a cool, and a convenient retreat to the living of a different race.

CHAP. XXIV.

FROM OOM KAIS, ACROSS THE HIEROMAX AND JORDAN, TO NAZARETH.

We left the village of Oom Kais about four o'clock, and descended by a winding path down the steep hill on whose summit it stood. In about half an hour we reached its foot, and seeing some Bedouin tents near, our guides determined on halting here for the night.

We had arranged amongst ourselves, to reach, if possible, the small village of Sumuk, in the southern bight of the lake, and after sleeping there, to proceed to Tiberias, on its western edge, in the morning; but we now learned that there was an affair of blood between the people of that neighbourhood and our guides; and that, therefore, they could not enter either the one or the other. They professed their willingness to go to Nazareth, but no further; and Mr. Bankes, not having seen that neighbourhood, or the coast to the northward of Jaffa, agreed to go directly thither with them.

It was to me as painful a circumstance to lose such an agreeable companion, as it was disadvantageous to abandon so safe a protection as our party had hitherto afforded to us all; but I felt the call of duty as imperious, and determined to proceed alone to Sumuk, and from thence, on the following morning, through Tiberias, straight to Damascus, as the nearest road to Aleppo.

In the midst of the dispute, while we were yet endeavouring to prevail on the Arabs to continue on our original route, and before we had entered this Bedouin camp below, my horse fell, in crossing a ravine, and crushed my right leg and foot between the saddle and the rugged rock of the valley. As the horse rose nimbly, it was without difficulty that I was extricated from this situation, and placed again on my seat, the pain being violent but not excruciating at first, and, as I then thought, by no means alarming.

We continued towards the tents, which were pitched on the banks of the Nahr-el-Hami; but as the sun was yet a full hour high, we determined, instead of alighting, to cross the river and visit the hot springs on the other side, which were close by.

We accordingly forded the Hieromax with some difficulty, as its stream was here broader,

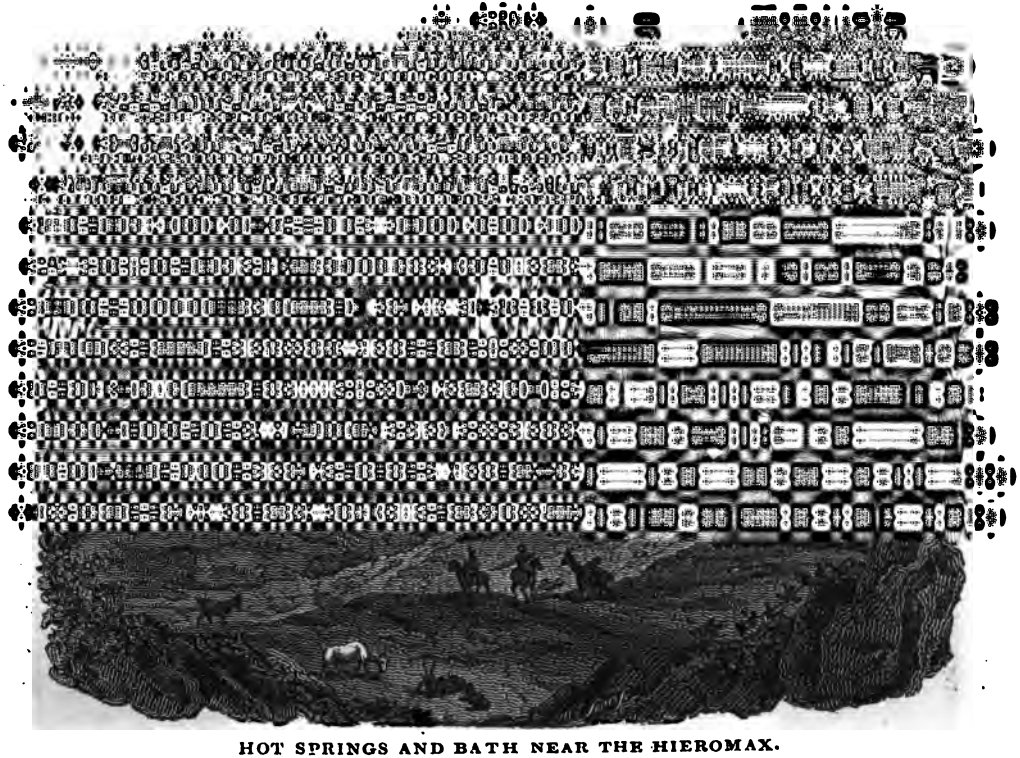
deeper, and more rapid than the Jordan at the time and place of our first crossing that river above Jericho. Reaching safely the opposite bank, we found a black soil, with some little cultivation; and a few yards up from the stream, on the north-western side, we came to the ruins of a Roman building, enveloped in the steam of the springs on which it stood.

On approaching nearer, we found the edifice to be an ancient bath; the great hall, the cisterns, the private chambers, the recesses, and narrow stairs of which still remained, with several arches on the north, that either inclosed a court for horses, or belonged to some outer building attached to the establishment.

The whole of this edifice was constructed of the black stone, of which we had lately seen so much, and which appeared to us to be volcanic; and we could now perceive, that in the cliffs above, through which the Hieromax made its way, as well as on the upper part of the opposite hills, this stone formed a deep layer on a basis of white soil almost like chalk. The whole bed of the river was one singular mixture of these black rocks, worn smooth and round by the passage of the water, but still as porous as pumice-stone, and equal masses of the white stone, which was nearly of as hard but smoother surface.

The spring which rose here presented to us a deep and capacious basin of beautifully transparent water, of the colour of those precious stones called aqua-marines, and more purely crystal-like than any fountain I had ever beheld. It rose in bubbles from the bottom; but though deeper than the height of a man, a pin might have been distinguished at the bottom, or the inscription of a medal read, so unusually clear was the whole mass. The odour emitted in its steam was highly sulphureous, but its taste was considerably less so. Its heat at the fountain-head was such as to render it painful to the hand, if immersed beyond a few seconds; but a fact, for which we could not account, was, that at a few yards distant from its source it was sensibly hotter.

From the fine transparent green of its central and deepest parts, the shade grew lighter as it approached the edges, and around the immediate rim of this natural basin, as well as on a little cataract formed by fallen masses of the ruined bath, the water had deposited a coating of the purest white, which gave an additional beauty to the appearance of the whole. The quantity of the water, and the force of its stream was sufficient to turn the largest mill; and it made a sensible addition to the waters of the



HOT SPRINGS AND BATH NEAR THE HIEROMAX.

Hieromax, where it joined that river only a few yards below.

As we found, that by gradual immersion the heat of the water could be borne, one of our old Arabs, Abu-Fatheel, and the Albanian Mohammed stripped and bathed in the upper basin, but described it as hotter than the hottest cistern of a modern Turkish bath. As I was lifted off my horse, while Mr. Bankes had his feet washed, I was glad to follow his example, and to bathe my bruised leg therein under the hope of some relief.

Though the Roman edifice that accommodated here both the victim of luxury, and the less sensual invalid, was now deserted and destroyed, the fountain which furnished its healing waters to the bath is still visited in search of restoration to health, by those who suffer an interruption of the enjoyment of that blessing; and though among them there are none perhaps sufficiently wealthy to build temples to Hygeia, yet none seem to have departed without leaving some humble offering, either propitiatory or grateful, as in front of the southern wall are about a thousand relics of hair, and nails, and teeth, and rags of every kind and colour, deposited by Arab visitors of the present day.

Josephus, in his account of the building of Tiberias, at the Lake of Gennesareth, says, that

there were warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village called Emmaus. * These were distinct from the hot baths at Tiberias itself, which are mentioned in another place †; but whether the hot spring here on the banks of the Hieromax was one of those that belonged to Emmaus, we could not determine, though its vicinity to Tiberias led us to suppose that it was. ‡

There appear, indeed, to have been several places of this name, and situated in different parts of Palestine. § In the march of Vespasian's army, after passing from Cæsarea to Antipatris, and from thence to Lydda and Jamnia, he came to Emmaus. This was evidently in their neighbourhood, and to the westward of the Jordan; for, after returning again to the same place from an excursion into Idumea, the army came *down* from thence to Neapolis or Sichem,

* Antiq. of the Jews, b. xviii. c. 2. s. 3.

† Jewish Wars, b. ii. c. 21. s. 6.

‡ Ἀμμαοῦς. Ubi thermæ sunt, prope Tiberiada. Jos. Ant. 233. — Reland. Palæst. Illust. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 560.

§ Vide Reland. l. ii. c. 6. "de intervallis locorum in sacro codice notatis, situ Emmauntis, Bethaniæ, aliisque." p. 425 ad 430; and again in l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, — "Tria loca sunt nomine Emmauntis nota in Palæstina; 1. Urbs hæc, Nicopolis dicta postea. 2. Vicus in Evangelio Lucæ memoratus. 3. Locus vicinus Tiberiadi, qui à thermis nomen videtur traxisse." p. 758.

and from thence to Jericho. * This may probably be the same with that Emmaus, which Titus assigned to the eight hundred of his veterans, whom he dismissed honourably from the army, and gave this place to them for their habitation, when he ordered all the rest of Judea to be exposed to sale. † It is there said to be distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs, or little more than six miles, which is too near for the Emmaus by the Lake of Tiberias. ‡ There was still another city of this name, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt, after which rebuilding, it was called Nicopolis, or the City of Victory. § The village of Emmaus, mentioned by St. Luke, is evidently the same with that assigned to the soldiers of Titus, since both of them are stated to be at the same distance of threescore furlongs from Jerusalem, and might

* Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8. s. 1.

† Ibid. b. vii. c. 7. s. 6.

‡ Emmaus, ἐμμαοὺς; timens consilium, vel matris augentis consilium, seu. populus abjectus. D. nomen castelli distantis ab Jerusalem stadiis 60. Luc. xxiv. 13. Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 115.

§ Emmaus —— notabilem victoriâ Maccabæi, et facto Servatoris quo se discipulis duobus aperuit, eo ipse die, quo à mortuis resurrexerat. (Luc. xxiv. 13.) Postea, hoc oppidum dicta Nicopolis. Cluverius, l. v. c. 20.

have been the Emmaus at which Vespasian's army halted, but could not be that which was celebrated for its baths near the Lake of Tiberias. There were no remains near the bath described, which indicated a ruined town, nor could we trace any resemblance of names, or hear of any traditions to assist our decision on this point.

We recrossed the Hieromax before sunset, and returned to the camp, when I was again obliged to be lifted from my horse and borne to the tent, where our reception was as kind as we could have desired.

We were forcibly struck here with some features of difference between the Arabs of this tribe and those which we had lately passed through, and with some peculiarities in the accompaniments of their camp, that seemed to us deserving of notice. Among their animals was neither a horse, a camel, a sheep, nor a goat, all of which are seen in the smallest party of Bedouins; while there was a fine herd of bullocks, and about twenty young calves, neither of which we had yet seen in either of the tribes with whom we had sought shelter or refreshment on our way. Dogs were numerous here; but these are common to all classes, whether they live in tents or in villages.

The Arabs themselves were remarkable for a flatness of feature that approached to the

African, though their colour was not so dark as that of our own guides, whose features were of a long and prominent cast. Among their women we saw several with positively crisped hair, and noticed a black slave-girl of about ten years of age. The boys, however, were still more remarkable, as their faces were in some instances sufficiently Chinese to have deceived me, if they had been introduced to me as such: they had the olive complexion, the lengthened eye-brow, the sunken and half-closed eye, separated by a broad distance, and the nose almost flat between them; lips not remarkably full, but projecting upper teeth; and, in short, a cast of countenance altogether different from any thing we had before seen in the country.

We endeavoured to learn the name of this tribe, but could only find that it was called Beni Sheikh Mohammed, from the name of its chief; and that they continued always on the banks of the Hieromax, or near the Hami, which is the name equally given to the river, and to the hot springs near it. *

The source of this river was described to us as being three days' journey off, in the direction

* Hāmi, حامي, signifies warm, particularly as applied to water, in the modern Arabic; and its connection might, no doubt, be traced with Hammam and Emmaus, two words of the same import in the Arabic and Hebrew tongues.

of Bosra, and they called the place Shelall; but whether implying thereby a cataract or rapids, as that word does on the Nile, we could not clearly understand.

After an humble but excellent supper of bread and oil for our guides, and a bowl of curdled sour milk for ourselves, we lay down to repose. Our party was thrice disturbed, however, during the night by the barking of the dogs, the encroachment of the buffaloes on our tent, and by the young calves within it.

4th. I passed a very restless night from the agonizing pain which I suffered in my foot, now swoln to an enormous size about the ankle; and this so incapacitated me from proceeding on my intended route to Damascus alone, that it was decided by all our party as indispensable, that I should accompany it to Nazareth, for the benefit of some medical application in the convent, and for repose.

We accordingly prepared to depart at sunrise, and I being lifted on my horse, we set out and continued at a slow pace on our journey. We now ascended the north-west angle of the hills on which Oom Kais stands, and continued over the brow of others to the westward, having from their summit the view of a fine valley ploughed for cultivation, on the south-west edge of the lake of Tiberias.

The sky was dark and cloudy, and the wind,

though from the southward, colder than any we had yet felt in Palestine; so that we were glad to descend from the bare summits of these bleak hills, to enjoy a warmer air and shelter below.

Reaching their feet, we crossed the double stream of the Hieromax, and observed here, on looking back, that the dark masses of rock, over which it wound its course, resembled a stream of cooled lava, when contrasted with the lighter soil by which it was edged on both sides. The stones of its bed here were equally porous with those we had seen above; the ground also showed small patches of sulphur in many places, and we were of opinion that the hot springs we had visited yesterday, the lakes of Cæsarea and Tiberias, the stone already described, the sulphureous and infertile nature of the plain of Jericho in many parts, and the whole phenomena observed of the Dead Sea, were sufficient indications of a volcanic effect, perhaps on the whole range of the long valley from near the sources of the Jordan to beyond the point of its issue in the Great Asphaltic Lake.

We continued our way from hence across a fine plain of, at least, three miles in breadth, covered with a light red soil, and apparently highly fertile; and directing our course due west, we reached, in about three hours from the time of our setting out, the stream of the Jor-

dan. It was here about one hundred and twenty feet broad, barely fordable by the horses, and having a current of about two knots per hour; resembling in all these particulars that portion of the Hieromax, which we had crossed yesterday to visit the hot springs and the Roman bath; the double arm of that stream forded this morning being much inferior.

Near the place of our recrossing the Jordan, which appeared to be about two or three miles from the point of its outlet from the Tiberian Lake, we observed some old ruins on an elevated mound, which appeared to us like a castle or some post of military defence. Our guides called it Jissera-el-Shereeah *, and said that beneath it was once a bridge for crossing the river, some remains of which were still to be seen. We were extremely desirous of turning aside to examine this spot, which stood on the eastern bank; but the Arabs were in such a state of constant alarm, that we could not prevail on them to halt for a moment.

After fording the Jordan, we began almost immediately to ascend another line of bare and stoney hills, leaving a village in ruins on our left, about half-way up it. On the summit, we

* جسر الشريعة, literally, the bridge of the Shereeah. This last word, which signifies "any place where beasts drink," is the name by which the Jordan is mostly called by all the Arabs who encamp near it.

found the cold excessive, and the whole atmosphere was now so darkened with the mist brought by the strong southern wind which blew, that we could barely trace the winding course of the river in the plain below. We could see nothing of its boundaries to the south, and could but just distinguish the place of the lake behind us, and a fine ploughed plain in a hollow on our right.

On descending over the western side of these hills, we had the Mount of Tabor immediately before us, and a waving ground, partly barren and partly cultivated, between us and its foot, extending perhaps from six to nine miles in length. In our way across this tract, we passed the village of Sereen, consisting of about thirty or forty dwellings, and near it saw half a dozen Bedouins' tents pitched. Further on, we passed a second village, somewhat larger, called Cafr Sabt, near which we were accosted by some suspicious characters on horseback, but passed on without further molestation.

At length we approached Mount Tabor, the eastern foot of which was highly cultivated, and its steep sides were richly clothed with woods, while on its summit some portions of the ruined buildings there were visible from below.

Leaving the mountain itself on our left, we passed through a narrow ravine, well clothed with

oak and olive trees, and joined here a party of soldiers, going from Damascus to some place on the coast. From this valley, where several coveys of partridges were sprung, and where the wooded scenery was an agreeable relief to the barrenness of that which we had passed over in our morning ride, we entered on the great plain of Esdraelon.

Though the rains had fallen twice since my first passing it, not a blade of verdure was seen throughout its wide extent; and its dull brown surface, here and there interspersed with rising ridges of grey rocks, and bounded on both sides with bare and stoney hills, seemed to us the very reverse of beautiful; so much had the magnificent scenery of the country east of the Jordan destroyed our relish for less grand and less picturesque views.

We continued along the northern edge of this plain of Esdraelon for about an hour, until we reached a small village, called by its inhabitants Belled-Eksall. It stood on one of those low ridges of rock which are seen here and there throughout the plain, and the sight of a large sarcophagus, on its highest part, induced us to turn aside for a moment to examine it more closely. We found ourselves amid sepulchres similar to those we had seen on the morning of yesterday, but more perfect. Besides the sarcophagus which had first attracted our notice, and which was of rude execution and unusually

large in all its dimensions, we saw subterrannean vaults, descended to by circular openings, like the mouths of wells, and apparently capacious below, none of which we could stay to enter. The most marked feature of the place, however, was the many graves cut down into the rock, exactly in the way in which our modern graves are dug in the earth. These were covered with rude blocks of stone, sufficiently large to overlap the edge of the grave on all sides, and of a height or thickness equal to the depth of the grave itself, varying from two to four feet. There were in all, perhaps, twenty of these covered sepulchres still perfect; and, in one, whose closing-block had been so moved aside as to leave an opening through which the interior of the grave could be seen, a human skull remained perfect, possessing no visible peculiarity of form, but being apparently of the same size as those of the present race.

These were unquestionably the works of a very early age, and might, perhaps, have been the sepulchres of those heroes who fell in the great battle between Barak and Sisera, which ended in the defeat of the latter, upon this celebrated plain, of which Mount Tabor and the river Kishon form such prominent features *;

* Judges, iv. 13, 14.

or of those Jews, of whom ten thousand were slain in a battle with Gabinius, near to Mount Tabor, during the Roman wars here. *

This village of Eksall is probably that of Xaloth, which is made one of the boundaries of the Lower Galilee, and whose name it still very nearly retains. In his description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, the Jewish historian says, "As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends, in length, from Tiberias to Zabulon, and, of the maritime places, Ptolemais is its neighbour: its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the Great Plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meroth to Thellah, a village near to Jordan. †

The situation of this village of Eksall, on the edge of the great plain of Esdraelon, corresponds very accurately with that given to Xaloth, and its name may be traced, with but little variation beyond that which is common to names passing from one language to another; while the sepulchres here described sufficiently indicate it to be a place of great antiquity. ‡

* Jewish Wars, b. i. c. 8. s. 7.

† Wars of the Jews, b. iii. c. 3. s. 1.

‡ Reland de Palæstinæ nominibus, situ, terminis, partitione,

From this village of Eksall, which is about an hour's distance from the foot of Tabor north-westerly, we began to ascend the rugged hills which form the eastern boundary of Esdraelon on our right; and from the steepness of the ascent, and the rocky nature of the path, it took us a full hour to gain the summit: all our party alighting from their horses except myself, who could not place my wounded foot on the ground.

When we had reached the top of the hill, which we computed to be about seven hundred feet above the level of the plain below, we found ourselves on the brink of an extensive hollow, like a shallow bason, or the crater of a volcano, in shape, and the town of Nazareth before us in this hollow, to the north-east, seated on the southern side of a steep hill, and hemmed in on all sides by rising ground. Our descent from hence was gentle; and in half an hour, after passing through cultivated land and some green turf for pasture, we entered the town, which now appeared to us large, respectable, opulent, and well peopled, after the many smaller villages we had recently passed through on our way.

&c. l. 1. c. 55. p. 367.; and lib. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, in voce Ναζάθ, p. 1062.

Our reception at the convent was full of kindness and respectful attention, though the superior himself was absent on a visit to Acre. I was lifted from my horse, and borne up stairs by the servants; and after passing an hour with the friars in mutual enquiry, had a medical application prepared for my wound, and gladly retired to my chamber for repose.

11th. For the whole of the last week I had been confined to the convent, the state of my foot rendering it impossible for me to proceed on my journey; and my time, during this interval, was chiefly employed in arranging the notes of our journey from Geraza to this place, and in prosecuting my studies of the vulgar Arabic from aids furnished me by the Padré Curator of the convent.

Mr. Bankes quitted us this morning, on an excursion to Acre, Mount Carmel, and Cesarea, and I was therefore left quite alone. As a first exercise, however, I ventured to mount my horse to-day, and took a short ride to the Mountain of the Precipitation, as it is called, from a belief that it is the one from which the enraged Nazereens sought to precipitate our Saviour.

The road towards it lies over a tolerably level space for nearly a mile, in a southern direction, and it then becomes necessary to dismount and go on foot over a very rugged road, descending

into a deep ravine, between two hills. After a quarter of an hour's scramble we turned up on the right, and ascending the southern point of the hill, we came first to an altar in a recess hewn out of the rock. This was held sacred, as being the spot were Jesus dined with his disciples. There are, close by this, two large circular cisterns for preserving rain-water, each well stuccoed on the inside; and, besides these, there are several portions of buildings, all said to be the remains of a religious establishment founded there by Santa Helena.

Immediately over this spot, and on the edge of a precipice about thirty feet in height, are two large flat stones, set up on their edges close to the brink. In the centre, and scattered over different parts of one of them, are several round marks, like the deep imprint of fingers in wax, and these are insisted on to be the marks of Christ's grasp when he clung to the stone, and thereby escaped being thrown headlong down.

This is among one of the most bungling of the absurd traditions which prevail in this land of miracles. St. Luke represents the Jews as thrusting Jesus out of the synagogue in which he taught, and leading him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong; but he, passing

through the midst of them, went his way. * Nothing is more inconsistent, therefore, than to fix on this spot, as it is nearly two miles distant from the synagogue which they still shew in the present town, is almost inaccessible from the steep and rocky nature of the road, and is decidedly not on a hill on which Nazareth could ever have been built; nor is the statement of Christ's clinging to a stone for safety, more in harmony with the sentence which describes his escape.

But this variance with the very scriptures on which they profess to found all their faith, might easily pass among a people who seldom read them, were it not that the ten great marks reckoned up in different parts of the stone as the impression of the ten fingers of the Messiah, are so disposed that they could not have been made at once by any possible position of the human hand, and are too clumsily executed and arranged to deceive even the most superficial observer.

The view from this precipice commands the whole breadth of the plain of Esdraelon to the south, and while it shows the range of Carmel in the distance toward the sea-shore, it looks over

* St. Luke, iv. 28. to 30.

also upon Hermon, at the foot of which is the village of Nain, where Jesus raised the widow's son. Mount Tabor and the sepulchres of Eksall are not visible from hence, being shut in by the eastern hills; but a number of small settlements are seen scattered over the plain.

On our return, I felt refreshed by the air and occupation of the ride; but I found my foot still too tender to be used without extreme caution, and suffered even from the slight exercise of this excursion.

I was determined, however, to prosecute my journey with all possible speed, and began, accordingly, to prepare for my departure to-morrow. From the best information which I could collect, the road by Tiberias to Damascus was recommended as the safest and shortest, and this, therefore, I proposed to pursue, taking only the precaution to provide myself with a person acquainted with the bye-paths and high-ways, and leaving the rest to fortune.

CHAP. XXV.

FROM NAZARETH TO TIBERIAS.

February 12th. Under the conduct of a guide from the town, we quitted Nazareth at an early hour, and ascended the hills to the eastward of it. Our road was stoney and rugged for the first two hours, when we were chiefly on hilly ground, and in the early part of it, we had a commanding view of the plain of Esdraelon and Mount Tabor, with the village of Eksall appearing through an opening in the hills.

At nine we passed under the village of Ain Mahhil, leaving it on the left, and having Tabor immediately opposite to it, about two miles on our right. The village is small, and inhabited entirely by Mohammedans; it is situated on the brow of a hill, and the villagers are, more generally, shepherds than cultivators, though both classes are to be found there. In the vale below, the country is woody, having the oak, now bare, some few olive-trees, and the wild carob, bearing the same name among the Arabs. We saw here a land-tortoise of a small size, weighing from three to four pounds.

At ten, we passed another small village, called Oom-el-Jebeal, leaving it also on our left. This village is seated at the foot of a hill, and is both smaller and meaner than the last, and its inhabitants are Mohammedans.

From hence our course inclined a little to the southward of east, until we reached Sook-el-Khan *, which we entered an hour before noon. This place is frequented for its weekly bazar on the Monday of the Christians, and, as every description of commodity in use among the people of the country is then collected here for sale, crowds of purchasers are attracted from all quarters. During the six other days of the week, it is entirely deserted, and not a creature remains even to guard the place. There are still existing here the remains of a Saracen fort in good preservation, and a khan or caravansera of the same age, but in a more ruined state: the former of these is of a square form, with circular towers at the angles and in the centre of each wall, and is about a hundred paces in extent on each of its sides. The latter is more extensive, besides having other buildings attached to it, Over the door of entrance is an Arabic inscription, and within are arched piazzas, little shops. private rooms, &c. with one good well of water in the centre.

* سوق لا خان literally, the market or fair of the caravansera.

We found assembled on the outside of these buildings, from four to five thousand persons as well as numerous herds of cattle, Arab horsemen, Bedouins on foot, Fellaheen, or peasantry, from the neighbourhood, women, and even children, were all mingled together in the gay confusion of a European fair. We turned into the Khan to water our horses, and halted for half an hour in the shade, as the heat was oppressive, the thermometer being at 92°, and the whole country parched by the long drought. We met here a young Nazarene, who had been the early play-fellow of our guide from the same place, and in the course of the interview between these two, it appeared that the former, though born of Christian parents, had become a Mohammedan from choice; it was added, that instances of a similar change were frequent, but that the fact of a Mohammedan becoming a Christian had never been heard of here. The reason is evident: temporal advantages are on the side of the former, and these, being certain and present, generally weigh more with this class of mankind than spiritual blessings, which appear to them uncertain and remote.

The whole of our road from Nazareth to Sook-el-Khan had been more or less rugged and hilly, but on our departure from hence, we entered on a fertile plain. In our way across

this, we met a party of Jews on asses, coming from Tiberias to the great public market, and conceiving me, from my Turkish dress and white turban, to be a Mohammedan, they all dismounted and passed by us on foot. These persecuted people are held in such opprobrium here, that it is forbidden to them to pass a mussulman mounted, while Christians are suffered to do so either on mules or asses, though to them it is also forbidden to ride on horseback without the express permission of the Pasha.

Throughout this rising plain, we perceived large quantities of the black porous stone which we had observed near the hot springs on the banks of the Nahr-el-Hami, east of the Jordan; the soil, however, was a light reddish earth, and its whole surface was cracked by excessive drought, and plentifully covered with thistles.

We passed by the shaft of a white marble column on the road, and soon after noon reached the village of Cafr Sabt. This is altogether built of the black porous stone already spoken of, great part of which appears to have been well-hewn blocks, as if the remains of former and better edifices. We saw here the pedestal of a white marble column, and several large stones used as architraves and portals to door-ways, but no other vestiges of antiquity. Though we had been riding over a gently-rising plain all the way

from Sook-el-Khan thus far, we found this village seated on the edge of a steep hill, facing to the eastward, with a deep valley below, and another rising slope going up to the eastward from its base, on a lower level than that which we had passed.

In our descent from this hill, we halted at a large watering-place to drink; but though the spring was ordinarily sufficient for the supply of the whole village above, it now scarcely yielded its water but by distinct drops. We found a solitary female here watching her pitcher as it slowly filled, and spinning at her distaff in the mean time. She kindly supplied our wants from her own scanty store, and about half a mile further on, we came to the watering-place of the cattle. Several herds were assembled at this place, and water for them was so scarce, that there remained no hope of our being able to procure any for our own animals; so that, to avoid altercations, we passed on.

On reaching the foot of this hill, and beginning to ascend the eastern slope, we saw several flocks of ghazelles, consisting each of from four to six in number. The whole of the country seemed so burnt up by the unseasonable heat, and want of rain, that neither for them, nor for the flocks of the shepherds, was there a blade of verdure to be seen.

After ascending slowly for about two hours, we reached the summit of this slope, and came suddenly in sight of the lake and town of Tiberias. We found ourselves again on the brow of a steep hill facing to the eastward, and forming the western boundary of the hollow in which the lake is contained. The view from hence is grand and interesting. To the south, inclining easterly, the vale of the Jordan was distinctly open; to the south-west the rounded top of Tabor rose above the intervening hills; to the north, the lofty Libanus, the Gebel-el-Thelj * or Gebel-el-Sheikh † of the Arabs, reared its snow-clad head; while the bare and yellow mountains of the eastern shore served but to give a brighter blue to the scarcely ruffled waters of the lake below. The town from hence has a more completely Moorish appearance, from its high walls and circular towers, than any other I had yet seen in Palestine. The waters, on whose western edge it stands, were as still as those of the Dead Sea, from being confined in a deep basin, and hemmed closely in by opposite ranges of hills. The scenery around possessed many features of grandeur, though destitute of wood and verdure; and the whole, indeed, was

* جبل الثلج, the Mountain of Snow.

† جبل الشيخ, the Mountain of the Chief.

such as to render our momentary halt there agreeable in the extreme.

On descending the hill, we observed a cistern for water, its spring being now dry; and while the muezzin * was calling to the prayers of El Assr, from the gallery of the mosque within the town, we entered it by the gate of the western wall. Taking a southern course through the town, we were conducted to the house of the Catholic priest, and alighted there to halt for the night.

We found the Abuna † himself occupied in opening pods of cotton in the outer court; while about twenty children were bawling, rather than reading Arabic in a small dark room behind him. The mat on which the father sat, being sufficiently large to contain us both, I seated myself beside him; but, whether from religious pride or any other motive, I knew not, he neither rose, nor gave me any of the accustomed forms of salutation. The first question which he asked me, on my being seated, was, whether I was a Christian, and how I made the sign of the cross. I replied, that I was an Englishman on my way

* سوذن the public crier who announces the hour of prayer.

† ابونا, literally, "Our Father." This is the the name generally given to Christian pastors throughout the Holy Land, by those who speak of them in Arabic.

to Damascus, and had thought that he would be glad to entertain me for a night on that consideration alone; but added, that if he felt any scruples at harbouring an heretic, in which light the English are considered by all the Christians of the East, I should most willingly withdraw to seek some other shelter. His son then hinted to him in a loose way, that though the English did not bow to the Pope, they were excellent people to deal with, for they travelled all the world over to get the hidden treasures of ruined cities, and always paid twice as much as the people of any other nation for any service rendered to them. This seemed to reconcile the father so completely to my stay, that throughout the whole of the evening nothing was talked of but the English, their wealth, their wisdom, and proficiency in the black art, and the certainty of their being the greatest in this world, whatever fate they might be doomed to in the next.

Being desirous of supping on the fish of the lake, a person had been dispatched on the instant after our arrival to procure some; but after a search of two hours, he returned without being able to find any. This fine piece of water abounds with a great variety of excellent fish; but from the poverty, and one must add, the ignorance and the indolence of the people who live on its borders, there is not a boat or a raft,

either large or small, throughout its whole extent. Some three years since, a boat did exist here, but this being broken up from decay, has never been replaced; so that the few fish which are now and then taken, are caught by lines from the shore, nets never being used.

The conduct of the southern Arabs on the shores of the Yemen forms a striking contrast in this particular to that of their brethern in the north. Along all the shores of Arabia Felix are small rafts called catamarans, composed only of four or five rude logs of wood lashed together, on which fishermen go out for several miles against a strong wind and boisterous sea, and remain often a whole day and night half-immersed in water to procure supplies of fish for the market; while here, where the lake is scarcely ever ruffled by a wind of any violence, where the water is shallow, the shelter good, and the fish abundant near the shore, the means of procuring supplies of food from thence are uncertain and neglected.

When the sun had set, we retired into an inner room, which the whole of the family inhabited, including the Abuna and his wife, the elder son Yusuf, his wife Martha, and the infant child Ibrahim, with two grown boys, younger sons of the old man. The whole of the space appropriated to this number, was about ten feet

long, by six broad; and in the same enclosure, on a lower level, was a stall for two cows, and a little place apart for three pigs. Besides this, were to be seen above little balconies, like large breeding-cages for birds, which appeared to be store-rooms or lockers for provisions. The whole compass of the outer walls which inclosed all these departments, was not a square of more than twelve feet at the utmost. The roof was flat, and composed of branches of wood laid across rude beams, and covered by mortar, which formed the terrace above. The only ornament seen within, was the cross, daubed in red upon the walls, and repeated at every interval of space not otherwise occupied; and even over the stall of the oxen and the trough of the hogs, this holy emblem was conspicuously pourtrayed.

The hour of supper arrived, and a bowl of boiled wheat and dûrra with oil was produced for the family. I was turning up my sleeves to wash my hands in preparation for the meal, when the old man asked me, whether we had no provisions in our sack. I replied, that we had only taken sufficient for the day, and had finished it at Sook-el-Khan, being assured by the friars at Nazareth that we should find every thing we could desire here. He then said, "You must purchase supper for yourselves." I replied, that we would not willingly intrude on

his stock, and had therefore sought to purchase fish at first; but that since none could be procured, we should content ourselves with whatever might be found. Four eggs were then produced from a cupboard in the house; but before they were broken, eight paras were demanded of me for them. I desired that their number might be doubled, and the remaining eight paras were also asked for before they were produced. Six paras were then claimed for oil to fry them in, though this was poured out of the same jar from which the lamp was filled, and they seemed to think that they had laid us under great obligations to their hospitality in merely furnishing us with bread and shelter.

All this was so contrary to the behaviour of Arabs in general, and so directly opposite to that of the Mohammedans, and of the Bedouins in particular, that we were forcibly struck with it; nor could even the evident poverty of this religious chief account sufficiently for it; since among the very poorest of the classes named, the same warm hospitality is found as among the richest, varying only in its extent according to their several means. We made a hearty supper, however, and the old Abuna himself, after finishing his portion of the family bowl, came without ceremony to begin a new meal at

our mess, of which he took at least an equal share.

A number of visits were paid in the evening by heads of Christian families, and the topic of conversation was the heretical peculiarities of the English, and their lamentable ignorance of the true religion. Some insisted that none of them believed in the existence of a God; others thought it was still worse that they did not bow to the Pope; many seemed to know that they did not hold the Virgin Mary in esteem, and that the crucifix was not worn by them; and all believed that there were neither churches, priests, fasts, festivals, nor public prayers throughout the country, but that every one followed the devices of his own heart without restraint.

It would have been as easy to have moved a mountain, as to have changed opinions like these; and the task of informing the very ignorant is often an ungrateful one. I barely replied with truth, therefore, to their questions; and, even in doing this, I made more enemies than friends, since it necessarily implied a contradiction of what they before held to be true.

Before the retirement of the party, we talked of our road to Damascus, and it was the opinion of all, that there was danger in every route which could be taken to that city. This was a

subject on which their authority was of some value, and therefore worth consulting them on. By the latest advices from Sham, it appeared that the division of parties grew rather higher every day there, and that the roads in the neighbourhood were therefore infested, and robberies committed on them with impunity. On the sea-coast it was said to be worse, on account of the domineering insolence of the soldiery, who were now indeed all masters of their own particular districts. Besides the original usurper of the pashalick of Sham, who still continued at Damascus, and the pretensions of Suliman of Acre thereto, it was said that one Ali Pasha, who had been the Capudan Pasha of the Turks, was on his way from Stamboul, to take possession of the city by order of the Sultan. A general belief prevailed also that Toussoun Pasha, the eldest son of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, had designs this way, since he was now at the Sublime Porte, as conqueror of the Wahabees, and deliliverer of the Prophet's tomb; and it was thought that the city of Damascus, which is one of the gates of pilgrimage, would be given to him as a recompense.

Such was the state of things, at the present moment, and the hope of its amelioration was but faint and distant. It was recommended to me, however, to take from hence two armed

men as an escort, and attempt the journey by an unfrequented road, where the danger was thought to be less, from there being less chance of plunder, and consequently fewer adventurers. An arrangement of this nature was so generally approved of, that before we slept, two men were found, who engaged to depart with us in the morning.

CHAP. XXVI.

JOURNEY ALONG THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

February 13th. Having paid for the food of our horses, and purchased some bread of our host for the way, we prepared to mount, when the old grey-bearded Abuna demanded of us a backshish *, for our entertainment: although we had already paid for every article consumed by us, a few paras were then given to him, which he accepted with evident avidity, and at sunrise we departed from his dwelling.

Leaving Tiberias, by the same gate at which we entered, we pursued our course to the northward, along the western edge of the lake. The ground rises here, so that the north-west angle of the town stands on a hill, while all the rest of it is low. We observed some fragments of a wall, which might have been part of the in-

* بخشش, backshish, though represented as a word of Persian origin, is in use through most parts of Arabia, to denote a gift or a reward.

closure of the ancient city, and if so must have been at its northern extremity, as just beyond it are a number of old tombs, apparently of higher antiquity than the present town.

In about an hour after quitting Tiberias we came to the remains of some ancient baths, close to the water's edge. Of these there were three in number, the only portion of each remaining being a large circular cistern, in which the visitors must have bathed openly, as there is no appearance of any covered building ever having been constructed over them. They were all nearly of the same size; the one around the edge of which I walked being eighty paces in circumference, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. Each of these were distant from the other about one hundred yards, ranging along the beach of the lake, and each was supplied by a separate spring, rising also near the sea. The water was in all of them beautifully transparent, of a slightly sulphureous taste, and of a light-green colour, as at the bath near Oom Kais; but the heat of the stream here was scarcely greater than that of the atmosphere, as the thermometer in the air stood at 84°, and when immersed in water rose to 86°. The first of these circular cisterns had a stone bench or pathway running round its interior, for the accommodation of the bathers, and the last had a similar work on the

outside; in the latter a number of small black fish were seen swimming. * Each of the baths was supplied by a small aqueduct from its separate spring, and there were appearances of a semi-circular wall having inclosed them all within one area.

Leaving this spot, we continued our way along the lake, and about nine o'clock, came to a small village called Migdal, where a few Mohammedan families reside. This is seated near the edge of the lake, beneath a range of high cliffs, in which small grottoes are seen; and besides the few dwellings of the present inhabitants, there are the remains of an old square tower, and some larger buildings of rude construction, and apparently great antiquity. † This place is, no doubt, the Magdala of the Gospel, to the coasts of which Jesus was conveyed by ship, after his

* Pliny mentions a fountain in Armenia, that had black fishes in it, of which whoever ate died suddenly. Nat. Hist. b. xxxi. c. 2.

† Migdal signifies "a tower," in Hebrew, and, as such, is given as an affix to many scriptural names, as may be seen in Reland, l. iii. p. 897, 898. It is in speaking of the tower of Eder, beyond which Jacob spread his tent, (Gen. xxxv. 21.) and which was thought to be near to Bethlehem, that he notices another place of the same name near the lake of Tiberias:—"Fit et mentio loci Migdal Eder in vita R. Simeonis Ben Chalaphta: quamvis ille locus videatur prope mare Tiberiadis situs fuisse, ubi מגדל עדר Μαγδαλα Γαδαρων Lightfootus constituit à Gadaris dicta." Lib. iii. de urbibus, p. 898.

feeding the multitude on a mountain nigh unto the sea of Galilee*, and the Migdal of the earlier Scriptures. †

From this we entered upon a more extended plain, the hills retiring from the lake on the left; and continuing our course in a straight line across it, so as to leave the beach at some little distance on our right, we reached, in half an hour, a place called Khan-el-Munney. There are remains of a large Saracen khan, or caravansera, here, from which the place derives its name; and near the same spot we observed several large mill-stones, now broken.

Passing on, in a more easterly direction, we ascended over a little promontory, around which there was no road by the beach, and remarked the remains of a narrow paved way. Close by this, on the hill on our left, we were shewn what is considered to be the site of Gennesareth, but we could trace no remains of any buildings on the spot. It was here, too, our guides said, that the legion of devils entered into the swine, who ran violently down a steep place into the sea. ‡ The voyages of Jesus and his disciples by ship across this lake, are so vaguely described that it is exceedingly difficult to understand them clearly. From St. Mark, who first relates this

* Matt. xv. 29. † Joshua, xix. 38. ‡ St. Mark, v. 13.

story, the scene appears to have been on the *eastern* side of the lake, as far as can be gathered from the context. After his withdrawing himself with his disciples to the sea, where great multitudes from Galilee followed him *, and requested that a small ship should wait on him, because of the multitude, lest they should throng him †, Jesus is first described to have gone up into a mountain, where he ordained the twelve Apostles ‡, and afterwards to have entered into a ship, and sat on the sea, while the whole multitude was by the sea on the § land. And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, "Let us pass over unto the *other side*." || And they came over unto the other side of the sea, unto the country of the Gadarenes. And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs, a man with an unclean spirit, &c." ¶

St. Luke, who is more explicit in all his details, says expressly, after describing the passage of Jesus and his disciples across the lake, "And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is *over against* Galilee." ** He says also, "then the whole multitude of the

* St. Mark, iii. 7. † Ibid. iii. 9. ‡ Ibid. iii. 14.
§ Ibid. iv. 1. || Ibid. iv. 35. ¶ Ibid. v. 2.
** St. Luke, viii. 26.

country of the Gadarenes * round about, besought him to depart from them, for they were taken with great fear; and he went up into the ship and returned back again." † St. Mark also adds, that the man thus freed from the legion of devils, departed and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done for him, and all men did marvel. "And when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side, much people gathered unto him, and he was nigh unto the sea," &c. ‡ The country of the Decapolis is known to have been on the *east* of this lake, and that of the Gadarenes, which appears, from the testimony of both these writers, to have been the scene of the miracles in question, must have been on the *east* also, to be *over against* Galilee, as St. Luke describes it; so that the fixing on the spot near Gennesareth could have been suggested by no other consideration, than that it was the steepest place on the *west* side of the lake leading immediately down into the sea, and that it was more convenient to possess holy ground on *this* side than the *other*, where the dominion of the Bedouins renders religious visits difficult, if not impossible.

* St. Matthew calls it the country of the Gergesenes, viii. 28.

† St. Luke, viii. 37. ‡ St. Mark, v. 20, 21.

The waters of this lake lie in a deep basin, surrounded on all sides with lofty hills, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at each extreme; for which reason, long-continued tempests from any one quarter are unknown here; and this lake, like the Dead Sea, with which it communicates, is, for the same reason, never violently agitated for any length of time. The same local features, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar basin, are of momentary duration, and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded by a calm.*

From the supposed site of Gennesareth, we continued our way along the edge of the lake in nearly an eastern direction, and in about half an hour, reached a place called Tahhbahh, where only one Arab family resides, at a corn-mill near the water. There are several hot springs here, of the same nature as those at El Hami, below Oom Kais, but still more copious.

* "And they launched forth. But as they sailed, Jesus fell asleep, and there came *down* a storm of wind on the lake, and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy. And they came to him and awoke him, and said, Master, Master, we perish. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water, and there was a calm." — St. Luke, viii. 23.

Around them are remains of four large baths, each supplied by its own separate spring, and each having an aqueduct for carrying off its superfluous waters into the lake, from the edge of which they are distant about three hundred yards.

The most perfect of these baths is an open octangular basin of excellent masonry, stuccoed on the inside, being one hundred and five paces in circumference, and about twenty-five feet in depth. We descended to it by a narrow flight of ten stone steps, which lead to a platform about twelve feet square, and elevated considerably above the bottom of the bath, so that the bathers might go from thence into deeper water below. This large basin is now nearly filled with tall reeds, growing up from the bottom; but its aqueduct, which is still perfect, and arched near the end, carries down a full and rapid stream to turn the mill erected at its further end. On the sides of this aqueduct are seen incrustations similar to those described on the aqueduct of Tyre, leading from the cisterns of Solomon at Ras-el-ayn, and occasioned, no doubt, by the same cause. The whole of the work, both of the baths and its aqueduct, appears to be Roman; and it is executed with the care and solidity which generally marks the architectural labours of that people. At a short distance

beyond this, to the eastward, is a small circular building called Hemmam-el-Aioobe, or the Bath of Job, but it is apparently of the same age as those near it.

It was almost noon when we reached Tal-hhewn, a station of Arabs, where we alighted to refresh: this place is said to have been formerly called Caphernaoom, but at present it is known only by the name of Tal-hhewn, or Tal-hhewm, as it is differently pronounced. It is seated close upon the edge of the lake, having the town of Tiberias to bear exactly S.S.W. by compass, distant apparently from nine to twelve miles in a straight line; the vale of Jericho, wide open, bearing S. by W. from twelve to fifteen miles from its upper edge; an ancient castle, called El-Hussán, in the mountains S.E. by S., from eight to ten miles; and the entrance of the Jordan, from the northward, E.N.E., from four to five miles.

The description which Josephus has left us of this lake is like all the other pictures drawn by him, admirably faithful in the detail of local features. "Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer

than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; and it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now, when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere." *

All these features are drawn with an accuracy that could only have been attained by one resident in the country; the size is still nearly the same, the borders of the lake still end at the beach, or the sands, at the feet of the mountains which environ it. Its waters are still as sweet and temperate as ever, and the lake abounds with great numbers of fish of various sizes and kinds.

In more early times, the sea of Galilee, or lake of Gennesareth, was called the sea of Chinnereth, from a city of that name seated on it, belonging to the children of Naphtali †, and the

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. iii. c. 10. s. 7.
† Judges, xix. 35.

edge of this sea on the other side Jordan, eastward, was made the western boundary of the portion of Gad, who occupied all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon.* Gennesareth is most probably the original name of this sea of Chinnereth, gradually corrupted; Galilee was the name given to the lake from its situation on the eastern borders of that division of Palestine; and Tiberias, which is its most modern name, must have been bestowed on it after the building of that city by Herod. This last, both the town and the lake still retain, under the Arabic form of Tabareeah; and the present inhabitants, like the earliest ones, call their water a *sea*, and reckon it, and the Dead Sea to the south of them, to be the two largest known, except the great ocean. Diodorus Siculus, in his account of the marvellous properties of the Lake Asphaltes, fails not to remark the great singularity of the bitterness of its waters; though there are, as he says, great rivers whose waters are exceedingly sweet, which empty themselves into it †; and this may be strictly said of the Zerkah, the Hieromax, and the Jordan, the two last of which empty themselves first into the lake of Tiberias, and then go

* Joshua, xiii. 24. to 27.

† Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 4., and l. xix. c. 6.

RUINS OF CAPERNAUM ON THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

by the southern channel of the Jordan, through the valley of Jericho, into the Dead Sea. *

The appearance of the lake, as seen from this point of view at Capernaum, is still grand; its greatest length runs nearly north and south, from twelve to fifteen miles, and its breadth seems to be, in general, from six to nine miles. † The barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give, however, a cast of dullness to the picture; and this is increased to melancholy by the dead calm of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found.

There were fleets of some force on the lake of Tiberias during the wars of the Jews with the Romans, and very bloody battles were fought between them. The ships were, no doubt, as large as the common vessels then in use on the

* It is for this reason that the Dead Sea is called in Scripture, the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan. — Josh. xviii. 19.; Deut. xv. 5.

† Abulfeda, in describing the lake of Tiberias, says, اميلا طو لها اثني عشر ميلا وعرضها ستة "The length of it is twelve miles, and the breadth of it is six miles." He farther describes its situation, في الغور in the *deep valley*. This name of El Ghoor, is given to the whole of the valley, or low country, from the Dead Sea through the plain of Jordan, all the way up to the Gebel-el-Thelj, the Shenir of the Scriptures, north of this lake of Tiberias.

shores of the Mediterranean Sea; and, as has been observed by Whiston, those that sailed on this sea of Galilee are always called by Josephus Νῆες and Πλοια, and Σκαφη, i. e. plainly, ships; and this, he adds, should not be rendered boats, as it is often done. *

Tal-hhewn, though now only a station of Bedouins, appears to have been the site of some considerable settlement, as ruined buildings, hewn stones, broken pottery, &c. are scattered around here over a wide space. † The foundations of a large and magnificent edifice are still to be traced here, though there remains not sufficient of the building itself, to decide whether it was a temple or a palace. It appears to have had its greatest length from north to south, and thus presented a narrow front towards the lake. The northern end of the building is sixty-five paces in length; and, as the foundation of the eastern wall appears to extend from hence down close to the sea, it must have been nearly four times that measurement, or two hundred paces in extent. Within this space are seen large blocks of sculptured stone, in friezes, cornices,

* Whiston's Josephus, Life, sec. 32. in a note.

† Tal is, in Hebrew, "a ruinous heap." See Parkhurst, in voce תלה; and in modern Arabic it has mostly that signification, though sometimes applied to small hillocks generally.

mouldings, &c., and among them two masses which looked like pannels of some sculptured wall. I conceived them at first to have been stone doors, but they were too thick for that purpose, and had no appearance of pivots for hinges; nor could they have been sarcophagi, as they were both perfectly solid.

The sculpture seems to have been originally fine, but is now much defaced by time. The block was nine spans long, four and a half spans wide, and two spans thick in its present state, and lay on its edge against other hewn stones.

Among the singularities we noticed here, were double pedestals, double shafts, and double capitals, attached to each other in one solid mass, having been perhaps thus used at the angles of colonnades. There were at least twenty pedestals of columns within this area occupying their original places, besides many others overturned and removed, and all the capitals we saw were of the Corinthian order and of a large size.

Near to this edifice, and close upon the edge of the lake, are the walls of a solid building, evidently constructed with fragments of the adjacent ruins, as there are seen in it shafts of pillars worked into the masonry, as well as pieces of sculptured stones intermingled with plain ones. This small building is vaulted within,

though the Arabs have raised a flat terrace on its roof, and a poor family, with their cattle, now use the whole for their dwelling.

To the north-east of this spot, about two hundred yards, are the remains of a small domestic bath, the square, cistern, and channels for supplying it with water, being still perfect; and close by is a portion of the dwelling to which it was probably attached, with a narrow winding stair-case on one of its sides. The blocks of the great edifice are exceedingly large; and these, as well as the materials of the smaller buildings, and the fragments scattered around in every direction, are chiefly of the black porous stone, which abounds throughout the western shores of the lake. Some masses of coarse white marble are seen, however, in the centre of the large ruin, and some subterraneous work appears to have been constructed there of that substance. The whole has an air of great antiquity, both from its outward appearance and its almost complete destruction, but the style of the architecture is evidently Roman.

The name of Capharnaoom, which is said to have been the one borne by this city anciently, is unquestionably meant for the Capernaum of the Scriptures. * That this was a place of some

* Capernaum idem est quod vicus Naum, i. e. כפר נחום, Capharnachum. Reland. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 682.

wealth and consequence, may be inferred from the address to it by Christ, when he began to upbraid the cities, wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shall be brought down to hell!" * It was also seated on the shores of the lake of Tiberias: for, after the feeding of the five thousand on a mountain near that place, Jesus entered into a ship, and went over the sea toward Capernaum†; and the multitude having lost him, after his walking on the sea to overtake the boat in which his disciples were, they also took shipping and came to Capernaum seeking him. ‡ This, in name and position, corresponds with the Caphar Nahum of the present day. The other name of Tal-hewn may be thought to have some affinity with that of Dalmanutha, a name given in the Gospel, seemingly to Capernaum itself, or the country about it at least; as St. Mark, in his Gospel, after describing the feeding of the four thousand, says, "And straitway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha." § As has been before remarked, it is a

* St. Matthew, xi. 20. to 23. and St. Luke x. 13. to 15.
† St. John, vi. 17. ‡ Ibid. vi. 24.
§ St. Mark, viii. 10.

matter of some difficulty to fix on the site of many of the towns of this lake with any precision, more particularly Chorazin, Bethsaida, Gennesareth, and Capernaum. The city of Tiberias was unequivocally on the *west*, where the present town of Tabareeah stands; and we have the testimony of Pliny, that Julias* and Hippos were on the *east*, and Tarichæa on the *southern* shores of the lake†; so that the others were probably toward the *north*, and Capernaum or Dalmanutha, here at the ruins called Caphar Nahoam and Tal-hewn, which agrees with all the authorities for its position.‡

While I was occupied in taking a hasty survey of these remains, and our guides were enjoying

* From Josephus, it appears, that Bethsaida and Julias were the same; for he says, in recounting the works of Herod, "He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the Lake of Gennesareth, to the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Cæsar's daughter." Ant. of the Jews, l. xviii. c. 2. s. 1.

† Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

‡ Capernaum ad mare Galilæum, Decapoleos urbs primaria opibus et splendore, præ cæteris illustris, ad dextram sita erat in litore, secundo Jordane descendentibus, ubi is lacui se miscet. Ut vero Capernaum dextrum litus obsidebat, ita Chorazin tenebat lævum. Quæ urbes, quod ipse Servator iis prædixerat, hodie in ruinis jacent. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369. — Of the signification of the name, it is said, "Quod Agrum Pœnitentiæ, vel Villum Consolationis, aut Propitiationem Pœnitentis denotat."

their noon-meal with the Bedouins settled amid these ruins, a small party of travellers arrived from the northward, and halted here for the same purpose as ourselves. On my return to the spot where they were all assembled, I found them warmly engaged in conversation on the news from Damascus, and the dangers of the road. These men, it appeared, were residents of Tiberias who had set out from their own homes two days before to go to Damascus, in order to make some purchases, for which they had taken a sufficient sum of money with them. They were originally six in number and all armed, and they had travelled in safety as far as the Bir-yusef. * During their halt there, however, they were attacked by a party of superior numbers, among whom, they said, were several soldiers, but, as they believed, no Bedouins. The result was, that they were stripped both of their money and arms, and some of those who were well-dressed, had their clothes taken from them, but no lives were lost, though two of the party who at first made resistance, were so severely beaten, that they were obliged to leave them behind on the

* بير يو سف, the Well of Joseph. This is is so called from its being supposed to be the well in which Joseph was hidden by his brethren, when they sold him to the Ishmaelites, Gen. xxvii. And it is singular enough, that the word يو سف, Yusef, signifies in Arabic, groaning or complaining.

road. These men conjured us by every thing sacred not to proceed any farther, but to return with them to Tiberias, as we were certain of being plundered at best, and perhaps murdered also, if we happened to fall into the hands of more sanguinary enemies.

I would have ventured on the journey still, from a sense of duty rather than inclination, if I could have found my way alone; but that was difficult, and our guides refused to advance a step further for the present, so that no alternative remained but to return by the way we came. We accordingly quitted Tal-hewn about an hour after noon, and followed the western shore of the lake on our way back. Our conversation on the road was entirely on the affair which had thus arrested our progress, and our new companions certainly felt terrified beyond description at the accident that had befallen them.

No new observations occurred to me on the route of return, except that we observed several shoals of fish in the lake from the heights above, and storks and diving-birds in large flocks on the shore. As we re-entered Tiberias from the northward, we had a commanding view of the interior of the town, from the rising ground on which its north-west angle stands; and though that interior presents nothing of grandeur or

beauty, the Moorish appearance of the walls and circular towers that enclosed it, gave the whole an interesting air. In passing, I had an opportunity of noticing also, that the small village of Sumuk, on the site of the ancient Tarichæa, bears from Tiberias nearly south by compass, distant four or five miles, though it is not visible from the town itself, from the intervention of a point of land over which we now saw it; and that a village on the opposite shore, called Ghearbi-el-Summara bears S. E. by S. about the same distance.

As I had already experienced how far the hospitality of the Christian priest extended, I felt disposed to seek another shelter for the night, and accordingly the guide, who had brought us from Nazareth, offered to take me to the house of his brother, who was settled here as a baker, and with whom he himself had passed the preceding evening. I very gladly accepted his offer, and separating from our pillaged companions at the gate, we proceeded straight to his dwelling. This man being a communicant of the Catholic church, was one of the Abuna's flock: and, whether from desire to contrast his behaviour with that of his pastor, which was already known to him, or from the impulse of pure good-nature, the reception and treatment we met with at his porch were of the warmest

and most hospitable kind. Our horses were fed, an excellent supper prepared, a party of friends collected, tales of humour and adventure related, our pipes filled from his own sack, and coffee served to us by his wife, unveiled and dressed in the most alluring manner. At every pause, the brother of our guide was reproached for not having brought us on the preceding evening to the house, and the only reply he made was, that he knew the Abuna to be more able, and naturally supposed that he would be equally willing, to entertain us.

We continued to sit together until a late hour, it being past midnight before the party of visitors had dispersed, and even after that, the Abuna and his son came, professedly to inquire the cause of our return, but, as it afterwards appeared, to beg that we would not make an evil report of them to the convent at Nazareth.

A good bed, with coverlid, cushions, &c. being prepared for me on a raised bench in the room, the rest of the party, consisting of the husband, his brother, the wife, and a male relation of her's, stretched themselves out side by side on mats on the floor, and we thus all slept as openly as a family of children.

CHAP. XXVII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TIBERIAS.

February 14th. As it was now necessary that we should return to Nazareth to seek some more safe occasion of pursuing our journey, I rose early to make an excursion through the town before we set out, and visiting in the course of my rambles every part of it, was enabled, from what I saw, added to the information collected during my stay there on the two preceding evenings, to make the following observations.

The present town of Tabareeah *, as it is now called, is in the form of an irregular crescent, and is inclosed toward the land by a wall flanked with circular towers. It lies nearly north and south along the western edge of the lake, and has its eastern front opposed to the water, on

* Spelt in Arabic, طابريع, but in its original Greek form, Τιβεριας, to which this interpretation is given, "Bona visio, vel umbilicus, aut confractio." Urbs Galilææ ad mare sita, quod ab ipse civitate appellatur Mare Tiberiadis. Joh. vi. 1. Hanc civitatem olim Cenereth appellatam. Herodes tetrarcha in honorem Tiberii Cæsaris condidit, et Tiberiadem vocavit. — Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 315.

the brink of which it stands, as some of the houses there are almost washed by the sea. Its southern wall approaches close to the beach; but the north-western angle of the northern wall, being seated on a rising ground, recedes some little distance from the water, and thus gives an irregular form to the inclosure. The whole does not appear a mile in circuit, and cannot contain more than five hundred separate dwellings, from the manner in which they are placed. There are two gates visible from without, one near the southern, and the other in the western wall, the latter of which is in one of the round towers, and is the only one now open; there are appearances also of the town having been surrounded by a ditch, but this is now filled up by cultivable soil.

To the northward of the town, is the road we passed over on our journey the day before; to the southward, the ruins of the ancient city, and a hot bath still frequented, as well as the burying-ground of the Mohammedans and the Jews; on the east, the broad expanse of the lake stretches over to the opposite shore; and on the west, it has a small space of plain fit for cultivation, from whence the land suddenly rises into the lofty hills which almost overhang the town.

The interior presents but few objects of inte-

rest besides the ordinary habitations, which are, in general, small and mean. There is a mosque, with a dome and minareh, now frequented, and another with an octangular tower, in ruins. The former of these is not far from the gate of entrance, the latter is nearer to the beach. There are also two synagogues of the Jews near the centre of the town, both of them inferior to that of Jerusalem, though similar in design; and one Christian place of worship called the "House of Peter," near the northern quarter, close to the water's edge. The last, which has been thought by some to be the oldest place of Christian worship now extant in Palestine *, is a vaulted room about thirty feet by fifteen, and perhaps fifteen in height; it stands nearly east and west, having its door of entrance at the western front, and its altar immediately opposite, in a shallow recess. Over the door is one small window, and on each side four others, all arched and open. The masonry of the edifice is of an ordinary kind; the pavement within is similar to that used for streets in this country, and the whole is devoid of sculpture or other ornament, as far as I could perceive. In a court without the House of Peter, I observed, however, a block of stone, on which were the figures of two goats,

* Quarterly Reviewers on Dr. Clarke's Travels.

and two lions, or tigers, coarsely executed; but whether this ever belonged to the building itself, no one could inform me. During my visit to this church, morning mass was performing by the Abuna, at whose house we had lodged; the congregation consisted of only eleven persons, young and old, and the furniture and decorations of the altar and the priest were exceedingly scanty and poor.

This edifice is thought by the people here, to have been the very house which Peter inhabited at the time of his being called from his boat to follow Christ. It was evidently constructed, however, for a place of worship, and, probably, at a period much posterior to the time of the Apostle whose name it bears, though it might have been erected on the spot which tradition had marked as the site of his more humble habitation: from hence, they say too, it was, that the boat pushed off into the lake, when the miraculous draught of fishes was drawn.

Besides the public buildings already specified, are the house of the Aga, on the rising ground near the northern quarter of the town; a small, but good bazar, and two or three coffee-sheds. The ordinary dwellings of the inhabitants are such as are commonly seen in eastern villages, but are marked by a peculiarity which I witnessed here for the first time; on the terrace

of almost every house, stands a small square inclosure of reeds, loosely covered with leaves. These, I learnt, were resorted to by the heads of families to sleep in during the summer months, when the heat of the nights is intolerable, from the low situation of the town, and the unfrequency of cooling breezes. At the present moment, indeed, we had the thermometer at 82° in the shade, an hour after sun-rise, and calm; while on the hills it was considerably less than at noon in the sun.

The whole population of Tabareeah does not exceed two thousand souls, according to the opinion of the best informed residents. Of these, about the half are Jews, many of whom are from Europe, particularly from Germany, Russia, and Poland *, and the rest are Mohammedans, exclusive of about twenty Christian families of the catholic communion. The military force here seldom exceeds twenty or thirty soldiers under the command of the Aga, and there are four old cannon mounted on different parts of the walls.

* In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, this place was in as great repute among the Jews as at present, and sepulture there was thought highly honourable. The hot baths of the neighbourhood were noticed by this traveller, and it would seem, from his account, that at that period there was a small salt-lake called As Cloth Hapisga, lying between the lake of Gennesareth and the sea of Sodom, of which there are no traces at present. Bergeron's Collection.

Provisions are not abundant, and therefore are generally dear; and fish, when occasionally taken by a line from the shore, are sold to the Aga, or to some of the rich Jews, at an exorbitant price.

The origin of this city under its Roman name, mounts no higher than the age of Herod; and Josephus, in his Jewish Antiquities, touches thus slightly on its foundation. "Now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth; there are warm baths at a little distance from it in a village named Emmaus. * The part of Galilee in which it lies, as bordering the lake, possesses great advantages, though they are not now used to the extent that they were in the days of this city's foundation. The word Emmaus, which is the Greek pronunciation of the Hebrew word Hammah, is said to signify a warm bath, and may have some affinity with the Arabic Hamman, and with the appellation of Hamé, given to the bath and hot springs at the mouth of the Hieromax. † As such, it would be a name equally appropriated to all the numerous warm

* Ant. Jud. b. xviii. c. 2. and 3.

† There was also a Beth-maus, probably one of the baths, only four furlongs from Tiberias. Life of Josephus, s. 12.

springs and ruined baths on the borders of this lake, and we know indeed that it was a name which, perhaps, from its applicability to local features, was given to many different places in Palestine. *

There is another circumstance mentioned by Josephus, which is worthy of notice. He says, that after having built this city in honour of Tiberius, Herod was obliged to use force in compelling people of condition to dwell in it, and to allure strangers and poor people thereto, by building them houses at his own expence, and giving them land also; for he was sensible, says the historian, that to make this place a habitation, was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away in order to make room for the city Tiberias; whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days. † From

* The Hebrew names, Chama, Chamath, and Chamin, which the Greek and Vulgate write Emmaus, Amatha, Hamata, Amath, and Amathus, always signify such places as had these hot waters; and of them we find several in Palestine, whose waters were famed for curing a variety of diseases, some by bathing, others by drinking. The superstitious Jews were such admirers of some of them, as to imagine that their virtue was miraculous, though Josephus owns it to be natural. Anc. Un. Hist. v. ii. b. i. c. 7. p. 434.

† Ant. Jud. l. xviii. c. 2. s. 3.

the first moment of my seeing the sepulchres on the rising ground to the northward of the present town, my impression was, as there mentioned, that they were of a very ancient kind, and, at least, of equal antiquity with the first foundation of the Herodian city itself. They were no doubt, therefore, a portion of the extensive burying-ground from which many sepulchres were to be taken away, in order to make room for the city, as Josephus here describes.

This was a city with which this historian must have been well acquainted, for in many of the most striking incidents of his life, as written by himself, Tiberias is mentioned as the scene, and the lake and its shores, was almost as much the theatre of the Jewish wars as any other part of Judea. In one place, he mentions his having himself taken the city four times. * By the persuasion of John of Gischala, whom he had given leave to make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of his health, the inhabitants were induced to revolt from their fidelity to Josephus; and he, after fruitless efforts to regain their good will, effected a narrow escape by ship to Tarichea. † The stratagem by which he afterwards got the whole of the senate of Tiberias

* Life of Josephus, s. 15. † Ibid, s. 18.

into his power, and forced Clitus, the author of the sedition, to cut off one of his own hands, may be numbered amongst the most ingenious of the whole war, fertile as it was in contriving to deceive *; and his commentator thinks it the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whatever. †

In the further details of this historian's active part in the events of these times, we gather that there was a *proseucha*, or open place of public prayer, *within* the city of Tiberias, though such proseuchæ, as his commentator observes, were usually *without* the cities, as the synagogues or houses of prayer were *within* them. ‡ Of this, however, we could find no unequivocal traces within the modern town, or among the ruins to the southward of it, though in each there were many open spaces that might have been conjectured to mark the place of it. In the account of the same affair, which is given more at large in his entertaining history, the place where Josephus harangued the people of Tiberias, who had revolted, is called the *stadium*; but of this it was as difficult to fix the place at present, as it was to discover that of the *proseucha*.

* Life of Josephus, s. 3. 33. 34.

† Whiston's Notes. Wars of the Jews, l. ii. c. 22. s. 10.

‡ Whiston's Notes on Josephus.

We learn from the details of the war, that Tarichea was within a night's march of Tiberias *, and that it was of consideration enough to possess a hippodromos. † Pliny fixes this city on the *south* of the lake ‡; so that, under all these considerations, it probably stood near the present village of Sumuk; but we could obtain no account of that place, though so near to it, that would at all elucidate the question without our visiting the spot itself. §

The importance of Tiberias in the succeeding wars of the Saracens and Christians may be seen from the contests for its possession, described in the history of the Crusades; and after its frequent reductions and subsequent repairs, all that remains of it now may be considered as purely Mohammedan, at least all that is included within the modern walls; the sepulchres on the north, and the ruins on the south, being unquestionably of an earlier date.

After our ramble through the town, we set out on an excursion to the hot baths to the southward of it, our host promising to procure

* Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. ii. c. 21. s. 6.

† Ibid. b. ii. c. 21. s. 3.

‡ Pliny Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 15.

§ Tiberiada et Tarichæas, distare stadiis 30. Reland, lib. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 1038.

for us, if possible, during our absence, a dish of fish from the lake, on condition that we would turn in on our way back and partake of it, to which we assented. Leaving the town at the western gate, we pursued our course southerly along its wall, and came in half an hour to an old dome-topped building, called Setty Skené. We were about to enter into the outer court of this, where we saw an Arabic inscription on a tablet in the wall; but some Moslems, who were employed in interring a corpse on a high burying-ground near, perceiving that our guide was a Nazarene, hailed us aloud to let no Christian enter these hallowed precincts. We accordingly gave them an evasive answer, and passed on; learning, however, from this incident, that the place was even now reverenced, and was probably the tomb of some sheikh or saint of the Mohammedan faith.

From hence, pursuing our course still southerly, we came to some scattered ruins of the old city of Tiberias, among which we observed many foundations of buildings, some fragments of others still standing, and both grey and red granite columns, some portions of the latter being at least four feet in diameter; but among the whole we saw neither ornamented capitals nor sculptured stones of any kind, though the

city is known to have been a considerable one. *

In our way, we passed an old tree standing amid these ruins, and observed its branches to be hung with rags of every hue and colour, no doubt the offerings of those who either expected or had received benefit from the springs in the road to which it lay. Throughout the cliffs of the overhanging mountain, on the west, are rude grottoes at different heights; and opposite to the tree are two arched caves, one of them having a square door of entrance beneath the arch, and both of them being apparently executed with care. We had not time to examine them, though we conceived them to have been, most probably, ancient sepulchres.

In less than an hour after our leaving the town, we arrived at the baths. The present building, erected over the springs here, is small and mean, and is altogether the work of Mohammedans. It is within a few yards of the edge of the lake, and contains a bath for males and a bath for females, each with their separate apartment annexed. Over the door of the former is an Arabic inscription; ascending to this door by a few steps, it leads to an outer room, with an open window, a hearth for pre-

* Tiberias metropolis et terminus Decapoleos regionis, urbiumque ejus maxima, nomen ab Imp. Rom. Tiberio traxit; et ab ipsa vicinum mare Tiberiadis. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

paring coffee, and a small closet for the use of the attendant. Within this is the bath itself, a square room of about eighteen or twenty feet, covered with a low dome, and having benches in recesses on each side. The cistern for containing the hot water is in the centre of this room, and is sunk below the pavement; it is a square of eight or nine feet only, and the spring rises to supply it through a small head of some animal; but this is so badly executed, that it is difficult to decide for what it was intended. My thermometer rose here instantly to 130°, which was its utmost limit; but the heat of the water was certainly greater. It was painful to the hand as it issued from the spout, and could only be borne gradually by those who bathed in the cistern.

There is here only an old man and a little boy to hold the horses and make coffee for the visitors; and those who bathe strip in the inner room and wash themselves in the cistern, without being furnished with cloths, carpets, cushions, or any of the usual comforts of a Turkish bath. The whole establishment, indeed, is of the poorest kind, and the sight of the interior is rather disgusting than inviting.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in his brief description of Palestine, after remarking the number of fine cities it contains, and observing that the

whole region did not possess a navigable river, mentions, however, that there were a number of places within it which were celebrated for their natural hot springs, whose waters were considered favourable to the cure of many maladies, and of which this of Tiberias was then probably one of the most celebrated. *

At this bath, we met with a soldier whom they called Mohammed Mamlouk, and I learnt that he was a German by birth, having become a Mamlouk and Mohammedan when a boy. He was now the hasnadar or treasurer to the Agha of Tabareeah, and was so completely a Turk as to profess that he would not willingly return to his native country, even if he could do so under the most favourable circumstances. He spoke the Turkish and Arabic languages equally well; and it was in the latter that we conversed, as he had entirely forgotten his native tongue, though not more than thirty-five years of age.

Besides the spring which supplies the present baths, there are several others near it, all rising close to the edge of the lake, and all equally hot, finely transparent and slightly sulphureous, resembling exactly the spring at El-Hamé. There are also extensive ruins around, which are most probably the remains of Roman edifices,

* Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 8.

though that which has been taken for the remains of a theatre appears rather to have been the choir of an early Christian church. Among them all, there is nothing, however, either interesting or definite. We quitted this spot to return to the town, and in our way by the bath saw a party of Jewish women just coming out from the female apartment. Their conversation was in German; and, on enquiry, they said that they had come from Vienna with their husbands, to end their days in the land of their fathers. In our way back from hence we were met by a party of Moslems, who conceiving me, from my dress and white turban, to be of their faith, gave us the usual salute, which I returned without scruple; but our guide was so shocked at the interchange of forbidden salutations between a Christian and a Mohammedan, that he expressed his confidence in its ending in some unlucky accident to us. To avert this, however, from his own head, he took a large stone from the road, and after spitting on it, turned that part towards the north, repeating a short Arabic prayer at the same time. Besides the present incident, I had observed on several other occasions that, in this country, set forms of expressions are regarded as appropriate to men of different faiths, and even different ranks in life, and that therefore nothing is more necessary for

a traveller than to acquaint himself with those minute shades of difference; as they serve, like the watch-word of an army, to distinguish friends from foes, and any errors therein might produce the most alarming consequences.

Our route of return was along the beach of the lake, leaving the tree of relics and Setty Skené on our left. Vestiges of ancient buildings still continued to be seen, close to the water's edge; but nothing of architectural beauty or of grandeur presented itself to our notice.

On our way we met a Jewish funeral, attended by a party of about fifty persons, all males. A group of half a dozen walked before, but without any apparent regard to order, and all seemed engaged in humming indistinctly hymns, or prayers, or lamentations; for they might have been either, as far as we could distinguish by the tone and the manner of their utterance. The corpse followed, wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on cords between two poles borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost. A funeral service was said over it at the grave, and it was sunk into its mother earth in peace.

On our return to the town, we found an early dinner of fish prepared for us, and thought it excellent; a person had been employed all the morning with his line expressly for the purpose of procuring them, and we very gladly rewarded

his industry by a suitable present. We were joined at our meal by a man from Ispahan, who had been settled here for some time as a merchant, and as he understood a little Hindoostanee, having been in several parts of India, we conversed together in that language, which to me was a very unexpected event in a town of Palestine.

It was past noon when we quitted Tabareeah, and in our way through the streets toward the gate, we met a Frank doctor in his European dress, who had come from Acre to bleed a rich Jew. The figure and costume of the man was in itself highly ridiculous, and this effect was increased by his being so intoxicated at this early hour of the day, that he reeled from side to side, in constant danger of falling off his horse. Besides a musket, a sword, and a powder-pouch, he wore, slung around his neck, a small canteen for spirits, which accounted for the state in which we saw him. In his way through the town, he was followed by a crowd of children, and laughed at by the women and the men; so that the Frank character was likely to gain nothing by such a disreputable exhibition.

For our return to Nazareth, we took a shorter route than that by which we came, according to the advice of our guide, though the distance seemed to me at least equal. Ascending the

hill to the north-west, we passed several flocks of ghazelles, from six to eight in number in each of them, and after reaching the summit of the mountains there, enjoyed again a commanding view of the lake below. We found the heat, even here, oppressive, though it was tempered by a light air from the north-west. The surface of the water was still, however, like a mirror, and a dead calm reigned in the hollow basin beneath us. The lofty summit of Libanus, covered with an unbroken sheet of snow, was still a conspicuous object in the picture, and is seen, indeed, from almost every point of view below, excepting only near the northern edge of the lake. From this edge a series of hills rise one over the other, until the highest point of the third or fourth range forms the foundation of the base of the Gebel-el-Thelj; and, from observations which I had an opportunity of making, when seeing the summit of that mountain from the water-line of the sea's level, I should conceive it to be at least from ten to twelve thousand feet in elevation above that point, though perhaps not even half that height from its own base.

About two hours after our leaving Tabareeah, we passed a rocky spot, with heaps of stones scattered around, called "Khamsi Khabshaat," or the place of the "five loaves," from a belief

that the five thousand were here fed with five loaves and two small fishes. *

By all the Evangelists, the scene of this miracle is said to have been a *desert place*, and by all of them it is stated that there was *much grass* there, on which the people were made to sit down in companies and in ranks. As Jesus is also represented by all of them to have departed by *ship* into this desert place, it seems probable that it was on the *east* of the lake. St. Luke, indeed, calls it a desert place, belonging to the city of Bethsaida †, whose site is given by Pliny, under the name of Julias, on the *east*. ‡ St. John, after describing the works of Jesus at the pool of Bethesda at Jerusalem, and his discourse with the Jews in the temple there, says, "After these things, Jesus went *over* the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias §;" an expression which could only imply his passing from this to the opposite shore on the *east*. And in describing the *return* of the boat back again, *after* the people had been fed, St. Matthew says, "And when they were gone *over*, they came into the land of Gennesaret ‖;" which land of Gennesaret we distinctly know to have been on the *west*. St. Mark says, after describing the mira-

* St. Mark, vi. 38.
† St. Luke, ix. 10.
‡ Pliny. Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 15.
§ St. John, vi. 1.
‖ St. Matt. xiv. 34.

culous feeding, and the gathering up of the fragments, "And straightway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and go to the *other side*, before unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people *;" but adds "And when they had passed over, (on their return back,) they came unto the land of Gennesaret, and drew to the shore." † St. Luke mentions nothing of the *return*; but St. John says, "And when the even was now come, his disciples went down unto the sea, and entered into a ship, and went *over the sea*, toward Capernaum." ‡

From most of these testimonies it would appear, therefore, that the scene of the feeding was on the *east* side of the sea, seeing that Gennesaret and Capernaum were on the *west* and the *north*. This supposition is strengthened by the following part of St. John's narration, who describes the wonder of the people at finding Jesus on the *other side* of the sea, believing him not to have entered into the *boat* with his disciples; since, if Gennesaret and the point from which they departed were on the *same* side of the sea, the passage from one to the other would have been as easy by *land* as by *water*, and would have excited no surprise. Besides this, it is said, "Howbeit, there came other boats

* St. Mark, vi. 45. † Ibid. vi. 53. ‡ St. John, v. 16, 17.

from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks."* Now the place here fixed on by tradition and bearing the name of Khamsi Khabshaat, is nearer to Tiberias than to any other part of the sea, being nearly two hours from the edge of the lake in a westerly direction, and on the top of a high and rocky hill; so that it does not correspond with the local features of the place described in any one particular, and may be cited as another proof of the bungling ignorance of those blind guides, who so proudly call themselves the guardians of the holy places. †

* St. John, vi. 23.

† I remember the anger which Chateaubriand expresses against those who dare to examine for a moment into the evidence on which such traditionary localities as these rest, and the implicit confidence with which he would have every one to believe all that might be told him by his spiritual superiors. He asks, "What would be thought of the man who should travel over Italy and Greece, and criticise Homer and Virgil at every step?" I should answer, "He would be thought a tasteless and fastidious pedant."—"Yet," says he, "it is thus that travellers go over the Holy Land, which, if only to be examined for such a purpose, is not worth the coming so far to see." But M. Chateaubriand will surely admit that there is a wide difference between the licence universally allowed in a mere poem, and the accuracy required in the Word of God and in those who call themselves the expounders of these writings, and the guardians of the scenes of his Son's miracles. We take up the Iliad and the Æneid as works of taste and genius, and read them as much for amusement as instruction. We take up the Bible as a work which we are taught to consider

From Khamsi Khabshaat we arrived, in about half an hour, opposite to Loobee, a considerable village, seated on the top of a high hill. We passed beneath it in the beaten track, leaving the village itself about a quarter of a mile on our left. It now grew dark, and the rest of our way was indistinct. We passed, however, several smaller villages, on our right; and, just as the moon rose, we entered Kusr Kelna, the *Cana of Galilee*, where water was turned to wine at a marriage feast*; and which was, at one time, the abode of Josephus, the historian †, and, at another, the head-quarters of Vespasian's army.‡ We halted here for a moment to refresh, and await the higher rising of the moon to light us on our way; and in half an hour set forward again, going by El Misshed, and Arreyna, over hilly and rugged ground. It was about ten o'clock when we entered Nazareth; but the doors of the convent were readily opened to us, and we were kindly received.

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infallible, and whose contents must be believed; so that we examine all that can tend to its illustration, with more than ordinary rigour, as we know that truth must always gain by investigation, and shine forth with increased brightness, when the dark clouds of error with which human weakness has obscured it are in any degree removed.

* St. John, ch. ii. throughout.

† Life of Josephus, s. 17. v. 1. p. 14.

‡ Wars of the Jews.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BY THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON TO JENEEN AND SANHOOD.

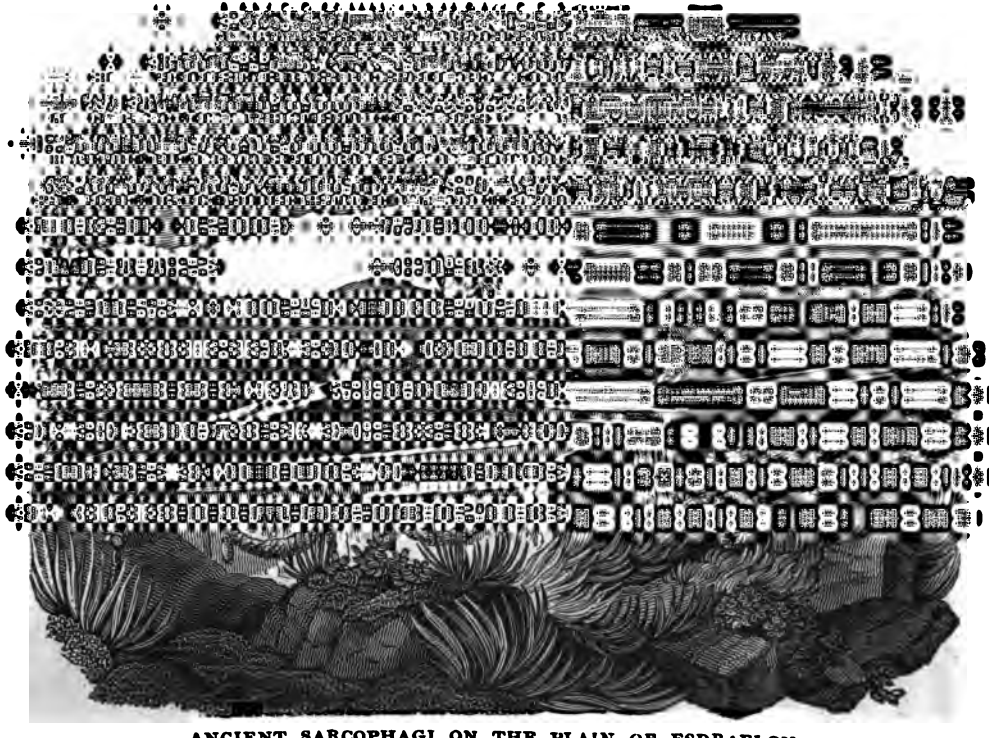
February 15th. The whole of the day was directed to enquiries about the best method of proceeding on my journey to the northward, when I learned that a caravan, with a large escort, would be departing from Nablous for Damascus on Saturday; and it was recommended to me to hasten thither, in order to join it, as the most secure mode of prosecuting my way. It was late at night when we learned this, but as there was still a hope of my being able to reach Nablous in time, I determined to set out on the following day.

The road even from hence to Nablous was thought to be so bad, that few people would attempt it without a caravan. By great exertion we procured, however, a man of that town, who was settled here, to accompany us thus far for fifteen piastres; and obtaining from Mr. Catafago a letter to his friend Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, the Chief of Sanhour, we left Nazareth about ten o'clock on our way thither.

Our course was directed to the southward,

going in which direction for about half an hour, we began to descend the steep range of hills by which Nazareth is bounded on the south. Dismounting here, we reached the foot of it in another half-hour, and came out on the Plain of Esdraelon, very near to the ravine on the west side of which is the mountain of the precipitation, before described. At the foot of this hill were now some Bedouins' tents, and a few flocks grazing, but the soil and its produce was so burnt up by the long drought, that every species of animal suffered the want of food.

Continuing in a southerly direction across the plain, we reached at noon the small village of Mezra. This, from its being enclosed by walls with loop-holes in them, and having only one gate of entrance, appears to have been once a fortified post, though of the weakest kind. It is at present destitute of any other inhabitants than the herds of cattle which are driven within the enclosure for shelter during the night. Near its southern angle are two good wells, which are still frequented, and we observed here several sarcophagi of a grey stone, of the common oblong form, extremely thick, and rather larger than the ordinary size. Though all of these were much broken and defaced by the action of the atmosphere, the sculpture on the side of one



ANCIENT SARCOPHAGI ON THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

was still distinct, representing pillars, festoons, and wheels.

Continuing over the plain in the same direction, we passed at one o'clock, under the village of Fooli, leaving it a little on our left. We observed here the fragment of a large building still remaining, whose wall seemed to be of Saracenic structure, and at the wells without the village we saw two pent-roofed covers of sarcophagi; one of which was ornamented with sculpture, the raised corners being the same as those at Geraza, and at Gamala, except that here the edges of them were sculptured, and that all the covers at the two former cities, as far as we observed, were plain.

On the west of this village, about a mile, is Affouli, built like this on a rising ground, and containing only a few dwellings. On the east of it, about two miles, is the larger village of Noori, surrounded with olive-trees, and there are besides several other settlements in sight from hence, all inhabited by Mohammedans.

We now kept in a south-easterly direction, having shut in Mount Tabor, and passed Mount Hermon, which we kept on our left, and at three o'clock we reached the village of Zaraheen. This is larger than either of the former, and is peopled also by Mohammedans. It is seated on the brow of a stony hill, facing to the

north-east, and overlooking a valley into which the plain of Esdraelon seems to descend; and through the openings of which the mountains on the east of the Jordan are visible. It has a high modern building in the centre, like that at Shufammer, and perhaps about fifty dwellings around it. We saw here also several sarcophagi, both plain and sculptured, corresponding in size, form, and material, to those seen before.

To the east of this place, in a vale, is another village, and a smaller one is seen in the same direction on the peaked top of a high hill. Of these our guide knew not even the names; but all of them, he said, were peopled by Moslems.

At four o'clock we came to a ridge of stony ground, interrupting the general line of the plain, and passed another deserted village, called Makhaebly, leaving it on our right. It has a ruined mosque in its centre, and a white-washed tomb of some saint a little to the left of it. From hence we continued again in a southerly direction, over uneven, and generally stony ground, until at five we came in sight of Jeneen.

The approach to this town from the northward is interesting, as it is seated at the southern edge of a small but fine plain, cut off from that of Esdraelon only by the stony ridge of low land just passed over. Behind it is a low range

of grey hills, and in front some woods of olives give great relief to the picture. The minareh and dome of a mosque are seen rising above a mass of flat-roofed dwellings, and from the gallery of the former the call to evening-prayers was heard as we entered the town. It does not appear to possess more than a hundred habitations in all, but it is furnished with a bazar and several coffee-sheds. The ruins of a large Gothic building are seen in the centre of the town near the mosque, and around it are several palm-trees, which, from their rarity here, struck me as more beautiful than I had ever thought them before.

Jeneen is governed by a Sheikh, who is tributary both to Acre and Damascus, as it is considered to be the frontier town between these two pashalics. It has, however, no military stationed there, and its inhabitants are all Mohammedans. Without the town, to the northward, are several saints' tombs, and in the hills to the southward are many rude grottoes. The range of hills, at the northern foot of which the town of Jeneen is seated, may be considered as the southern boundary of the great plain of Esdraelon, and as the limit between Galilee and Samaria; for between it and the range on which Nazareth stands, there are only a few interruptions of rising ground here and there, without

any marked boundary. The whole of this extensive space is covered with a fine red soil, and had once several considerable settlements on it, as may be inferred from the sepulchres and sarcophagi at Eksall, at Mezra, at Fooli, and at Makhaebly, all seated on small eminences admirably suited for the situation of agricultural towns. It is now, however, lying waste, excepting only a few patches ploughed for cultivation towards its southern edge.

Jeneen, or Genin, is no doubt the Ginea * of some writers, and the Geman † of Josephus, as he calls it, a village situate in the great plain of Samaria, it being the boundary between that province and Galilee; and he describes a fight which happened there between some Galilean Jews, who were going up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles, and the Samaritans of Geman who opposed them. ‡

We passed on through Jeneen without halting, going by a narrow pass between stony hills

* Γιναία. Vicus qui Samaritin a septentrione terminat, in campo situs. — Vide et vocem Geman. Illic loci situs est hodieque vicus Zjennin, vel ut alii scribunt Jennin, dictus, et transeunt illum qui Ptolemaide Samariam, atque ita Hierosolymas, tendunt. Reland. l. iii. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 812.

† Γημάν. Vicus situs in magno campo Samaritidis. Ibid. p. 803.

‡ Joseph. Jewish War, b. ii. c. 12. s. 3.

to the south of the town. As the sun was now set, and the sky overcast, it grew too dark to observe any thing of the road beyond, except that it was rugged and bad. In about two hours after quitting Jeneen, we reached the village of Cabaat, where our entrance was so opposed by the dogs, that we were almost stunned with their barking. Some of the Mohammedan villagers seeing us journeying on our way at so late an hour, brought us bread and water while on horseback, without even being solicited to do so, and when we halted to accept it, both compliments and blessings were mutually interchanged.

Our road now improved, and about ten o'clock we reached the foot of a steep hill, on which the walled town of Sanhoor is built. We alighted and walked up to the gate, demanding admission for an English traveller on his way to Nablous, who brought a letter from Catafago at Nazareth, and sought protection from Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, the chief of the place. The terms of our demand were immediately communicated to the venerable pilgrim, and in a few minutes the gates were opened to us, and we were saluted and welcomed as strangers but yet as friends.

On being conducted to the chief, we found him sitting on a stone bench in the court of his house, and surrounded by a circle of dependants,

who seemed to think themselves honoured by being admitted, like Mordecai of old, to sit at the king's gate. All rose at our entrance, a carpet and cushions were placed for me on the right hand of the master; our horses were fed, a supper provided, and every mark of hospitality and attention shown to us.

In the ardour of conversation with this seemingly estimable man, I had quite forgotten to deliver my letter to him, until our supper was finished, and he had presented me with his own Nargeel.* As soon as he received it, a young scribe was sent for, who read the contents of the epistle aloud, and all listened and applauded, for it was full of the most extravagant encomiums. It was gratifying to me, however, to consider, that such false representations of wisdom, talents, honour, and wealth, had no share in obtaining for me the kind reception given to our party; and happily, as the utmost had already been done, even such a letter could not draw more from our benevolent host.

Our conversation of the evening was chiefly on the state of Europe, on the countries I had visited, and those I hoped to see. As the chief

* نارجيل the Persian name for a cocoa-nut, which, as that fruit is not a production of Arabia but of India, is adopted by the Arabs, and in this case applied to an apparatus for smoking, the body of which is made of a cocoa-nut shell.

had been himself twice at Mecca, making the journey from Damascus, I learned from him also some interesting particulars on that route, and we talked a great deal of those parts of Arabia which we had both seen, namely the ports of the Hedjaz. An excellent bed was prepared for me in a separate room, with clean sheets, and cushions covered with silk, and every arrangement was made for my comfort that I could possibly desire.

Among the party assembled around the fire in the court, (for the evening was bleak and cold,) was an old amateur of muskets and pistols, called Sheikh Ibrahim, who asked me a thousand questions about the names of the celebrated makers in the different capitals of Europe, and brought me at least twenty different pieces to examine. His passion for arms was so strong, that he had brought up his son as a gun-smith, though he himself had been self-taught, and among some locks that were shown to me as the work of the son, in imitation of English ones, with the name of Wilson upon them, there were several that would not have disgraced an European artist. When we talked of the perfection to which this manufactory was brought in England, and the improved methods used in the working of metals there, as far as I was myself imperfectly acquainted with them, the old man

swore by his beard, that if I would take him to that country, only for a few months, that he might witness these wonders, as he called them, he would serve me in the capacity of servant, or soldier, or groom, or any thing in short that I might command, during the whole of the way.

We continued up until past midnight, with scarcely an interval of silence; and every thing that I saw of the venerable pilgrim-chief, during that time, impressed me with an idea of benevolence, meekness, and goodness of heart, superior to any thing that I had ever yet witnessed in Turk or Arab. To increase the obligation under which he had already laid us to his kindness, he insisted upon our being accompanied, from hence to Nablous, by one of his own horsemen, who would be answerable for our security, as the road, he said, was perfectly impassable without some protection of that kind. This was, therefore, ordered, and bidding this excellent old man adieu, as we intended to depart at sunrise, we all retired to repose.

17th. We were stirring with the dawn, but early as the hour was, we were not suffered to depart without our morning cup of coffee, and a supply of provision for the way.

Our route lay to the southward, in which direction we went for about an hour, in a narrow valley, with stony hills on both sides, when at

eight o'clock we reached a large village, called Jabbaugh. This is seated on a hill, and surrounded by valleys filled with olive-trees. Several marks of superior industry began to appear in the cultivation of the soil; and the face of the country, though more rugged, was far more fertile than before.

After quitting this village, the road was very hilly; but instead of the parched brown of the plains below, we were gratified by the sight of young corn and verdant spots, even to the mountain top. Small villages were seen on eminences around us in every direction, and the whole scene bore an appearance of active industry. This striking difference between the state of the hill-country and the plain, is to be sought for, perhaps, rather in the character of the inhabitants of these separate districts, than in the influence of its respective governments, as imagined by some travellers. * The tyranny of Djezzar no longer remains to check the efforts of industry through his fine territory; but, on the contrary, Suliman, the present Pasha of Acre, bears universally a higher character for benevolence, equity, and liberal government, than any of those who have lately held the pashalic of Damascus in their hands.

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 15. p. 503.

The country known by the name of Samaria, joined to Galilee on the north, and to Judea on the south; and commencing at Ginea, Ginnan, or Gennin, at the termination of the great plain of Esdraelon, extended as far as the toparchy of Acrabatena, towards Jerusalem. The description given of the face of the country, its soil, and productions, as resembling that of Judea, is so far true, that both are composed of abrupt and rugged hills, and differ essentially from the plains of Galilee. But while in Judea the hills are mostly as bare as the imagination could paint them, and a few of the narrow valleys only are fertile; in Samaria, the very summits of the eminences are as well clothed as the sides of them. These, with the luxuriant valleys which they enclose, present scenes of unbroken verdure in almost every point of view, which are delightfully variegated by the picturesque forms of the hills and vales themselves, enriched by the occasional sight of wood and water, in clusters of olive and other trees, and rills and torrents running among them.

At nine o'clock, continuing still over hilly ground, we reached the village of Beit-Emireen *, which contains about forty dwellings. It is

* بيت امبرين the house of the two princes.

seated on a rising ground, on a chalky soil, and surrounded by valleys thickly wooded with olive-trees.

At ten we were nearly opposite to Subussta, having it on our right; and as it formed a convenient spot to refresh at, we turned out of the common path about a furlong to make our halt there. A circular ruin, appearing to be the eastern end of an old Christian church, made a picturesque appearance as it rose on the brow of the hill; and beyond it, towards the summit, several columns of some more ancient buildings, were still erect. In entering Subussta, we saw in the road an old sarcophagus, and not far from it a pent-roofed cover, both at the foot of the hill on which the present village stands. This village consists only of about thirty dwellings, all extremely humble, and the place is governed by its own Sheikh, who is himself a husbandman. It is seated on a stony hill, but is surrounded by fruitful valleys and abundance of olive-trees, and occupies a commanding, as well as a pleasant situation.

The city of Samaria was the capital of the country included under that name, and stood pretty nearly in the centre of it. Its first foundation is ascribed to Omri, who, after the death of his rival, Tibni, was acknowledged by the people of Israel as their king, in the thirty-first

year of Asa king of Judah. "And he bought the hill Samaria, of Shemer, for two talents of silver*, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, *Samaria.*" †

After an evil reign, Omri was himself buried there; and his son, Ahab, who succeeded him, set up an altar, with a house or temple which he had erected to Baal the god of the Sidonians, in the city of his father. ‡ The name of the country, however, seems to have been established before; as in a preceding part of the same chronicles, the cities of Samaria, and all the houses of the high-places within them, are spoken of. Some, indeed, have thought this said of the city of Omri in anticipation, by a *prolepsis;* but when the country retained always the name of Samaria, as well as this city standing on the hill of Shemer, it is easy to conceive the preceding passage as applying to the high places of idolatrous worship which existed previous to the building of the city, in the towns of Samaria generally.

It was during the reign of Ahab, the son of Omri, that this city was besieged by Ben-hadad, the king of Syria, who led with him all his host,

* Equal to 684*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* sterling. † 1 Kings, xvi. 24.
‡ 1 Kings, xvi. 28—32.

and carried thirty and two kings with him from beyond Euphrates*, in his train. The insolence of his message, and the servility of the answer returned to it by Ahab, could scarcely be justified in either, even by the presence of such an overpowering force; but the effects of such submission were, as they always are with tyrants, to heighten arrogance. Not content with being allowed to say, "Thy silver and thy gold is mine, thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest, are mine," he desired that the lowest of his servants should lay their hands on whatever was pleasant in their eyes. The infuriate and boasting vow which followed the refusal is quite in the spirit of eastern bombast: "And Benhadad sent unto him and said, the gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me." While the sarcastic defiance which such a proud message extorted, even from the wavering Ahab, is equally characteristic of the concise sententiousness that as often marked the sayings of the times. "And the king of Israel answered and said, Tell him, Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." The result proved the difference between these contrasted moments, and showed

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 8. c. 14. s. 1.

that a confidence of victory is not always followed by the attainment of it. *

The people having attributed the victory of the Israelites to their gods, as gods of the hills, advised their leader to draw them into the plain, and instead of the useless kings, to put as many captains in their place. He listened to their voice, and numbered again an army like the army he had lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot. It was at the return of the year that he went up a second time with this formidable host against Samaria, where, as it is emphatically said, "The children of Israel pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, while the Syrians *filled* the country." The battle was as fatal to their leader as before; a hundred thousand of his footmen were slain in one day; and of those that fled away to Aphek, a wall fell and destroyed twenty-seven thousand of them. †

The proud Ben-hadad, who had boasted that all Samaria would not afford sufficient earth to yield a handful to each of his followers, was reduced to sue for mercy, in sackcloth and ashes, and bound with ropes about his head as a captive; so that he must then have found the diffe-

* See 1 Kings, xx. throughout, and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 14.

† 1 Kings, xx.

rence between the boast at girding on his harness, and that at putting it off. By this act of humiliation he obtained, however, not only pardon, but the honour of riding in the same chariot with the king himself.

A covenant of peace was concluded, in which Ben-hadad said unto Ahab, "The cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore, and thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria." The learned are divided as to whether these were streets, or palaces, or market-places, which were thus to be permitted to the king of Samaria to build in Damascus; but all are agreed that it was a privilege which marked the subjection of Ben-hadad to Ahab. *

Like more modern treaties of eternal friendship and alliance, this covenant of peace was soon broken, and in a terrible battle that was fought for the recovery of Ramoth Gilead from the Syrians, Ahab, though he had disguised himself to avoid death, was slain by an arrow from a bow drawn at a venture. His body was brought, however, to Samaria, to be laid in the sepulchre of Omri, his father, the founder of the city; and in a reference to the acts of his life, the *other* cities which he built, and the ivory

* Anc. Un. Hist. vol. ii. p. 306. 8vo.

house which he made, (probably in this his capital of Samaria itself,) are numbered among the works recorded of him in the books of the chronicles of the kings of Israel. *

The third time of this Ben-hadad, the Syrian king, opposing himself to Samaria, was on the occasion of Joram shutting himself up therein, and depending on the strength of its walls. "But Ben-hadad," says the Jewish historian, "supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine and the want of necessaries, and so he brought his army upon them, and besieged the city." † The result indeed was as had been anticipated; for the Scriptures say: "And there was a great famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung ‡ for five pieces of silver." The incident related afterwards, still heightens the picture of the distress to which this siege must have reduced them: "And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said, If the

* 1 Kings, xxii. 39.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 4. s. 4.

‡ Josephus says, that this dove's dung was used as a substitute for salt. — Ant. Jud. l. 9. c. 4. s. 4.

Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor, or out of the winepress? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son." *

In the reign of Hoshea, one of the subsequent kings of Samaria, and when Ahaz was king of Judah, Shalmanezer, the Assyrian monarch to whom Hoshea was tributary, came up against Samaria to punish him for having sent messengers to the king of Egypt, and for having failed in making the yearly presents which he had formerly done. The Scriptures, in relating this event, briefly say, "Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." † It is added, "And the king of

* 2 Kings, vi. 26—29. Josephus also quotes Nicolaus of Damascus, who, in his History of Hadad, mentions this laying waste of Samaria. Ant. l. 7. c. 5. s. 2.

† 2 Kings, xvii. 5, 6.

Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." Josephus confirms this account of the carrying away the ten tribes of Israel into captivity by Shalmanezer, and adds also, that "when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,) into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites." *

The utter ruin of the power of Samaria in this captivity of her people, seems to be alluded to by the Prophet Hosea, when he says, "as for Samaria, her king is cut off as the foam upon the water." † It is thought by some, that the city was then reduced to a heap of stones, and Micah is referred to as saying so; but though this was the threat made against it by the word which came to the Prophet in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Ezekiah, kings of Judah, or about the period of these sieges, its desolation is not mentioned as being made so complete as to "become as an heap of the field, and as

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 1.
† Hosea, x. 7.

plantings of a vineyard *," by *this* conquest of it, though it was by a much *later* one. The Scriptures expressly say, that, after the carrying away captive the children of Israel into Assyria, the men that were brought from the countries of the East before enumerated to supply their places, "possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." † Josephus calls them all Cutheans, "because," says he, "they were brought out of the country called Cutha, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it; and that is the name," he adds, "by which they have been called to this time," though he acknowledges in the same place, that they were composed of five different ‡ nations. He confirms, however, the fact of their supplying the place of the Israelites led away into captivity, and of their dwelling in Samaria, and following the idolatrous worship of their former gods, though Israelitish priests had been sent back from among the captives in Assyria to teach them the knowledge of the true God. §

* Micah, i. 6. † 2 Kings, xvii. 24.

‡ See an able dissertation on the geographical positions of the towns to which these captives were carried, and the nations who replaced them, in Major Rennell's Illustrations of the geography of Herodotus.

§ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.; and 2 Kings, xvii. 24 to 31.

In the time of Ezra, or subsequent to the return of the Israelites from their captivity, these foreigners were still dwelling there; these are they who were enumerated as the Dinaites, the Afharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over and set in the cities of Samaria. These are they who wrote the letter to Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, telling him, that the Jews whom he had set free from their captivity had already gone up to Jerusalem, and were rebuilding the walls of this rebellious and bad city; they advised the king to search the book of records of his father, wherein he would find that this was a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they had moved sedition within the same of old time, for which cause the city was destroyed; and after telling the king Artaxerxes it was because they still had their maintenance from his palace, that they could not see him thus dishonoured, they assure him that if this city were to be rebuilt, and the walls thereof set up again, he would not only be deprived of the toll, tribute, and custom, which this country now brought to his revenue, but that he would by this means, soon have no portion on this side the river, or *west*

of the Euphrates. The records were searched, the proofs of insurrection, rebellion, and sedition, were found, and the order of Artaxerxes put a stop to the building. *

Until this period, therefore, it was inhabited by this mixed race, and in the time of Amos, they are characterized as a luxurious people, by a figure that will be well understood by those who are conversant with the manners of the East. "Thus saith the Lord, As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria *in the corner of a bed*, and in Damascus *in a couch;* and I will smite the winter-house, with the summer-house, and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord." † Nothing could be more indicative of wealth and luxurious manners than these splendid mansions, suited to the different seasons, and the manner of their reposing in them; and as such a state is too generally acquired by laying heavy burdens on those who find them grievous to be borne, they are most appropriately addressed in the opening of the next chapter. "Hear the word, ye *kine of Bashan* ‡,

* Ezra, iv. 7—24. † Amos, iii. 12. 15.

‡ One must have seen the luxuriant pastures among the hills and valleys of Gilead, on the other side of Jordan, to feel

that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring and let us drink."

When Alexander the Great was occupied in the siege of Tyre, it is said, that all the cities of that part of Syria called Palestine, were surrendered peaceably into his hands, excepting Gaza. * On quitting Syria for Egypt, the Macedonian king left Andromachus in the government of the country; but during his visit to the Temple of Jupiter Hammon in Libya, or, as others have it, after the taking of Tyre and Gaza, these Samaritans, from their constant enmity to the Jews, and jealousy of the superior privileges granted to them by Alexander, put Andromachus to a cruel death. †

The news reaching Alexander in Egypt, of the Samaritans having burnt Andromachus alive, he hastened to avenge this barbarous act upon so perfidious a race. ‡ These were, indeed,

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the full force of this expression, and to understand what is meant in other places by "the fat bulls of Bashan," who rioted at large in all the abundance which the most fertile lands could bestow.

* Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. ii. c. 25.

† Andromachum iis regionibus præposuit, quem Samaritani, perpetui Judæorum hostes, paulo post atrociter necaverunt. Freinshemii Supp. in Quint. Curt. l. ii. c. 11.

‡ Oneravit hunc dolorem nuncius mortis Andromachi, quem præficeret Syriæ; vivum Samaritæ cremaverunt. Ad cujus

either all executed, or swept away, and such of them as escaped, established themselves in Shechem as their capital, while Alexander banished even those Samaritans who had served in his army ever since the siege of Tyre, as far as into the Thebais, or Upper Egypt, to guard that country.*

Samaria was now peopled by a new race, though still foreigners; and while the remains of the mixed nations that had supplied the place of the Israelites from the *east* were dispersed thus abroad, their successors were an almost equally mixed people from the *west*, composed of Macedonians, and others who served in the army of Alexander, while part of the adjoining lands were given to the Jews.†

Hyrcanus, the first of the Jewish high priests who had ventured to shake off the Syrian yoke, was the next who came as an enemy against the city of Samaria‡: this was not for religious

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interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima celeritate potuit, contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 6.

† Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. viii. p. 544.

‡ The first of the Ptolemies, surnamed Lagus, who was the friend and companion of Alexander, in his conquest of Asia, and who, after his death, became king of Egypt, Libya, and part of Arabia, is said to have laid waste Samaria, when he

differences with the Samaritans, properly so called; since they had been settled at Shechem from the time of their being driven out of their own city by the army of Alexander. The race who at present inhabited it, was the Syro-Macedonian, or a mixture of Syrians, Macedonians, and Greeks; and, as these had all been tutored in a warlike school, they had encompassed their town with a lofty double wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications, which, added to the advantages of their natural situation, rendered it difficult to attack them with success.* The Jewish historian admits that this was now a very strong city, but adds, that Hyrcanus, being greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, a colony of the Jews and confederate with them, and this in compliance with the king of Syria, he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains.

The place being impregnable to the force of arms, there was no other way of reducing it but by cutting off all its supplies; so that the be-

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retired from Syria into Egypt at the approach of Antigonus in the Syrian War. Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 6.

* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 342.

siegers themselves drew an outer ditch round the city below, and built a double wall about it of four-score furlongs, or ten miles in circuit. In this manner they continued cooped up for a whole year, during which time they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the most loathsome food, and at length to deliver up their city. "And when Hyrcanus had thus taken the city," says Josephus, "which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought *rivulets* to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. *

Not long after, Gabinius, who had succeeded Scaurus as president of Syria, settled such cities as had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed, "while a great number of men," says the historian, "readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants." † Samaria is numbered among these, and he is said to have called this, after its restoration, from his own name, Gabiniana. ‡

It did not rise to any thing like its former consequence, however, until the time of Herod,

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 10. s. 3.
† Joseph. Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 8. s. 4.
‡ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 376.

whose magnificent works in honour of Cæsar, Agrippa, and Antony, have already been often spoken of at large; "yet," says the historian, in describing the monuments which Herod had reared to the memory of these his friends and patrons, "he did not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given to them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long *, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city thus built, had erected a very large temple to Cæsar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastus, or Augustus †, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner." ‡

The purpose of Herod's bringing many of the people here who had assisted him in the wars, and of his making them fellow-citizens with the rest, was, says the same historian in another place,

* This is confounded by the authors of the Universal History, with the wall of Shechem, which they make Josephus describe to be of this extent, though he evidently speaks only of Sebaste. — Anc. Un. Hist. vol. ii. b. 1. c. 7. p. 440.

† *Sebasté*, in Greek, is literally *Augustus* in Latin.

‡ Joseph. Jewish Wars, b. i. c. 21. s. 2.

"out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the *acclivity* of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities, for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now, within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and half (in circuit), and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greater part a citadel; and as to the elegance of its buildings, it was taken care of also,

that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste and of his beneficence to future ages." *

It is of this city of Herod that the remains are now to be traced; and both the relative distance, local position, and unaltered name of Sebaste, leave no doubt as to the identity of its site.

Josephus calls it, in one place, "a day's journey distant from Jerusalem †;" and, in another, "a city not far from ‡ Cæsarea," both of which are strictly true of Sebaste. Its position is marked as on a hill, the *acclivities* of which were made use of for fortifications. § Its strength is implied in the denunciation of Amos. "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, which are named chief of the nations to whom the house of Israel came." ‖ And its local features are equally shown in the threat of Micah, "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard, and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof." ¶ Josephus, in describing the precau-

* Jewish Antiquities, b. xv. c. 9. s. 5.
† Ant. Jud. l. xv. c. 8. s. 5.
‡ De Bello, l. i. c. 28. s. 6.
§ Antiq. Jud. l. xv. c. 9. s. 5.
‖ Amos, vi. 1. ¶ Micah, i. 6.

tions which Ahab had taken to shut up every thing in the strongest cities he had, mentions that he abode in Samaria itself, as the most inaccessible of them; "for," says he, "the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects." * Pliny also calls it "Sebaste upon the mountains," and reckons it among the chief cities of Palestine. † The manner of investing it and walling it round in all the sieges it underwent, proves it also to have been an *isolated* hill, all of which characteristics still unequivocally remain.

That the country about it was fruitful and productive, has already been shown; and that it abounded with water, may be inferred from the account of Hyrcanus bringing *rivulets* to drown it, and causing waters to run under it. Among the medals struck in this city, with the figure of the goddess Astarte, (who was the Venus of the Assyrians, and was so honoured as a divinity, as to have a famous temple at Hierapolis, served by three hundred priests always employed in sacrificing to her). This blessing of abundance of water, is seemingly implied by the goddess being represented as treading a river under foot. And indeed this, as well as all the

* Ant. Jud. l. viii. c. 14. s. 1.
† Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

other localities already detailed, being permanently imprinted on the place by the hand of Nature, remain unaltered.

It may be thought by some, to have been quite unnecessary to collect them so much at large as they are here shown; but, it has been thought well to bring them into one point of view for the sake of elucidating the nature of the present remains of Sebaste; more particularly as the latest, the most learned, and, perhaps, deservedly, the most popular modern traveller in these regions, has unaccountably fixed on Sanhoor as the probable site of Sebaste, though, in his way from Nazareth to Nablous, or from Tiberias to the same place, he must have passed in sight of the hill on which its ruins stand; and could scarcely fail, one would think, to have often heard of it from his guides under its present name of Subusta, as it is one of the most well-known places, both to Mohammedans and Christians, on all this road. *

* Dr. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. Sanhoor is called by him Santorri, and he says of it, "We should have considered this as the site of the ancient Samaria, were it not for the express mention made by Maundrell, and by others, of the town of Sebaste, still preserving a name belonging to that city." Quaresmius also mentions the city of Sebaste, sive Samaria, as occurring in the route from Sichar to Jemni or Jennin; although performing this journey, we found no other place intervening, except Santorri; and it is situated upon a hill,

It will be better, perhaps, to describe the remains in the order of their importance, than in the succession in which they are seen on approaching it from the east; since, in that direction, the most modern of them is the most conspicuous. The first impression that the view of the place makes is, that the *form* of the hill of Shemer, as it now shows itself, is such as would naturally suggest an idea of its fitness for a fortress, or a post of defence, to whoever might be settled on it. In looking round for the ditch and the wall, with which Hyrcanus is said to have surrounded it when he invested it during the year's siege, there are many places that might have been found, perhaps, on more mature examination of them, to mark the traces of it; but as we had not leisure to connect them, we could not fix on any as unequivocal vestiges of these works. The same might be said of the inner walls and fortifications, though there were many detached pieces of walls standing on the edge of rocky prominences that might have been fragments of such works, but in these we could not discover any regular form. Indeed, from

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according to the descriptions given of the ancient Samaria, which D'Anville places midway between Ginæa and Napolose and Sicham, vol. ii. c. 15. p. 503.

the very circumstances of these fortifications being often made, as Josephus says, of the acclivity of the hill itself, nothing would be more speedily demolished than masonry constructed on them, and nothing more difficult to identify than the acclivities on which such buildings stood. In this respect, namely, the facility of its destruction when once begun, arising chiefly from the steepness of its site, it resembled the fortress of Gamala on the other side of Jordan, with which Pliny has coupled it, probably from such similarity of position, when he enumerates, among the chief cities of Palestine, "Sebaste upon the mountain, and Gamala, which yet stands higher than it." *

Nearly on the summit of the hill, but rather on the western side, so as not to be seen on passing by from the road below, are the remains of a large street, lined by an avenue of columns on each side, probably the principal one of the city, and leading, apparently, to the place of the city-gate. There are eighty-three of these columns now erect, and some others fallen, but all of them are without capitals. The people of the country have a tradition that they are a part of Herod's palace; and the probability is,

* Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 13.

that they are at least a portion of the avenue to the temple which he built. It may be, indeed, the "Sacred place of a furlong and a half long," which Josephus says "he built about the *middle* of the city, and adorned with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty." The area which these pillars cover, is better calculated for building on than any other part of the hill, and though the fallen fragments of masonry scattered about leave nothing definite to be traced of a plan, without more time than we could spare to the task, yet sufficient still remains to prove that there were once other buildings there besides the one marked out by these columns. If these only remain erect while the other parts of the work have fallen to decay, this is chiefly from the firmness of their hold as *pillars*, which are generally the last part of ancient edifices that fall, and which often retain their original place, when every trace beside has disappeared.

On the eastern side of the hill, and also near the summit, are the remains of another building, of which eight large and eight small columns are still standing, with many others fallen near them. These are also without capitals, and are of a

smaller size, and of an inferior stone to the others, and they were probably of the Doric order originally, to judge by the appearance of their proportions and intercolumniation; for we had not time to measure them. The foundations of the building, to which they might have belonged, cannot now be traced, though there are blocks of stone and fallen pillars scattered about near it; but the appearance of the ground, which, it must be admitted, is always liable to have been affected by subsequent accident, induced a conjecture that these pillars formed avenues of approach to a theatre, now destroyed. I know of no positive mention of such an edifice at Sebaste; but it is known that Herod, in his embellishment of Cæsarea, constructed theatres, amphitheatres, and places for the public games of Rome and Greece *, and even appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre in the plain, both costly works, but contrary to the Jewish customs. † It will be at least admitted, therefore, that such edifices as those were thought by him to be appropriate ornaments of a great city, and that no respect for the religious prejudices of the country would

* Wars of the Jews, b. i. c. 21. s. 8.

† Ant. of the Jews, b. xv. c. 8. s. 1.

prevent his adorning Sebaste with them, after they had been erected at Jerusalem, more particularly as it is said, "And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts." *

In the walls of the humble dwellings now forming the modern village of Sebaste, portions of sculptured blocks of stone are perceived, and even fragments of granite pillars have been worked into the masonry, while other vestiges of former edifices are occasionally seen scattered widely about. †

The most conspicuous object of all the remains of Sebaste, as seen from the road below in approaching it, is, however, the ruins of the most modern structure erected in it, except the habitations of the poor villagers themselves, namely, a large cathedral church, attributed to the piety of St. Helena. Sebaste, or Samaria, as it is more generally called in the New Testament, was among the earliest of those cities whose inhabitants embraced Christianity through the preach-

* Ant. of the Jews, b. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

† Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Sebaste, and knew it to be the ancient Samaria, thought these vestiges to be the remains of the palace of Achab, king of Israel. He notices its situation on a high mountain, and speaks of it as a delicious spot, from its fountains and gardens, and the beauty of the surrounding country. See Bergeron's Collection.

ing and miracles of Philip; and among the number of his converts was Simon the sorcerer, or Simon Magus, as he is called, who, from practising sorcery and bewitching the people of Samaria, became a Christian, in order, as it would seem, to purchase from the apostles by money the power of communicating to others the gift of the Holy Ghost.* St. Jerome says, that it is thought Obadiah was buried at Samaria; and tradition fixes the sepulchres both of Elisha and of John the Baptist on this spot. Some bishops of this city are found to have subscribed to the ancient councils of the church, and probably Christianity flourished in it till the conquest of Palestine by the Saracens; but whether it ever reverted again to the possession of the original race of the Samaritans, whose chief residence had been established at the Shechem near their temple on Mount Gerizim, I am not aware. In the days of St. Helena, it was however honoured with a stately edifice, of the same kind as the many other cathedrals and religious buildings erected by this devout old lady over every part of the Holy Land, and whose remains are now very considerable. This pile was reared over the supposed prison in which St. John the Baptist was confined, and from

* Acts of the Apostles, viii. 5—20.

whence his head was brought in a charger to gratify the revenge of an angry woman, living in reputed incest with her husband's brother, and to fulfil an oath made to her daughter, whose dancing pleased Herod and his captains, when probaby heated with wine, at his birthday-supper. *

This large church, whose remains still exist, stands east and west, and is about one hundred feet in length, by fifty in breadth. In the court at the west end are two apertures, leading down to a large subterranean reservoir for water, well stuccoed on the inside, and now nearly dry; though during the rains it often becomes filled to the brim. On the south side are high slender buttresses, and on a piece of building without this is a sloping pyramidal mole, constructed of exceedingly large stones. The northern wall is quite plain; the eastern front is semicircular, with three open and two closed windows, each contained in arches divided from each other by three Corinthian columns.

The interior of the eastern front has a pointed arch, and columns of no known order, though the capitals approach nearer to the Corinthian than to any other. The eight small arches which go round the tops of the windows within,

* St. Mark, vi. 21.

are semicircular, and have each at their spring the capital of a column, but no shaft attached to it; the great arch of the recess is pointed, and the moulding that passes round it is fantastic in the extreme. Among other things seen there, are the representations of scaly armour, an owl, an eagle, a human figure, and an angel, all occupying separate compartments, and all distinct from each other.

The exterior of the eastern front presents a still more singular mixture of style, as the pointed and the round arch are both used in the same range, and the ornaments of each are varied. In the lower cornice are human heads, perhaps in allusion to the severed head of the Baptist; and there are here as fantastic figures as on the inside, the whole presenting a strange assemblage of incongruous ornaments in the most wretched taste.

The masonry appears in some parts to have been exceedingly solid, in others only moderately good; and in some places, weak and paltry; and at the west end, in a piece of building apparently added since the original construction of the church itself, are seen several blocks of sculptured stone, apparently taken from the ruins, and worked into the present masonry there.

On the inside of this ruined edifice, is a small

mosque, erected over the supposed dungeon in which St. John was executed; and an Arab family, who claim the guardianship of this sanctuary, have pitched their dwelling on the south-west angle of the great church, where it has the appearance of a pigeon-house. On learning that I was a Moslem, we were all admitted into this mosque, which we entered with becoming reverence. They have collected here the white marble slabs, found amid the ruins of the church, to form a pavement; and in one part we noticed three large pieces with sculptured circles and bands on them, which were set up in the wall as tablets.

The mosque itself is a small oblong room, with steps ascending to an oratory, and its only furniture is a few simple lamps and some clean straw mats for prayer, the recess of the Caaba being in the southern wall. From the mosque, we descended by a narrow flight of steps to the subterranean chamber or dungeon of St. John, which had all the appearance of having been an ancient sepulchre. It was not more than ten feet square, and had niches as if for the reception of corpses, in arched recesses on each side. There was here, too, one of those remarkable stone doors, which seem to have been exclusively appropriated to tombs, resembling exactly in

form and size those described in the Roman sepulchres at Oom Kais. The panneling, the lower pivot, and the sill in the ledge for receiving the bolt, were all still perfect; but the door was now unhung, and lay on its side against the wall.

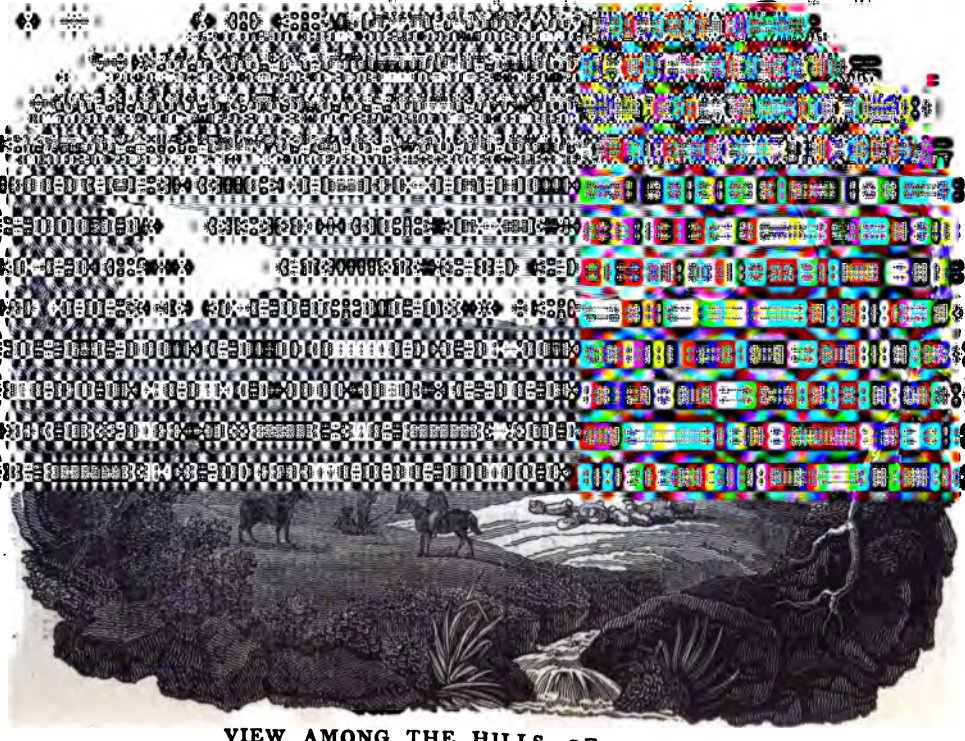
CHAPTER XXIX.

SHECHEM, OR NEAPOLIS, MOUNT EBAL AND GERIZIM, AND THE WELLS OF SAMARIA.

After taking some bread and olive oil, as a meal of hospitality with the Sheikh of Subusta, we quitted it about eleven o'clock, and from hence our road lay for half an hour over hills of siliceous stone, going constantly to the southward until we opened upon the long valley of Nablous, running nearly east and west.

We turned off to the eastward, leaving on our right the village of Beit Eiba, on the side of the hill; Beit Oozan, a smaller one, just above it; and on the summit of the range, an enclosed town with walls and towers, called Aijeneid, all peopled by Mohammedans. The valley here is really beautiful, being covered with woods of olives, corn fields now green, reservoirs of water, gardens, aqueducts in different directions, both arched and plain, and all the marks of industry, opulence, and abundance.

We continued our way easterly through this valley, and at noon approached Nablous by the



VIEW AMONG THE HILLS OF SAMARIA.

lower road, scarcely seeing it until we were near the gate. Just without it we passed through some grounds where several parties were spinning, winding off, and bleaching cotton thread; and soon afterwards we entered at the western gate. Passing through a narrow but crowded bazar, we halted at a public khan, and directed our first enquiries to know when the Damascus caravan would set out. What was my mortification to learn that it departed three days since, that there remained not the least hope of overtaking it, and that no other would go from hence for at least a month to come! I grew almost desperate at this information, and had I not been restrained, would have really set out immediately to follow it alone. A moment's consideration convinced me, however, that this would be rashness rather than enterprise, and that there was no remedy but in a patient search for some other occasion.

The horseman sent with me by Hadjee Ahmed Gerar, insisted that, as the caravan was gone, and we were perfect strangers here, he could not leave me until some arrangements should be made for our future proceeding; but recommended that I should return with him to Sanhoor, whither he would conduct me in safety. This was therefore assented to, as the only alternative remaining; but as there was

yet ample time to return before sunset, we halted for an hour to repose our horses, to cast our eyes around on the leading features of the place, and to make, in the mean time, a visit to the well of Samaria, to the eastward of the town.

The name of Sichem, which is one of the most ancient of those by which this place is known, appears, like that of Samaria, to have been applied to a district of country at first. On Abram's coming from Haran into the land of Canaan, he is said to have "passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh." * It is said also, in the history of Jacob's journeyings, that "he came to Shalem †, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-Aram, and pitched his tent before the city." ‡ The name too was evidently derived from that of the son of Hamor the Hurite, the prince of the country, whose name was Shechem. § Josephus, how-

* Genesis, xii. 6.

† Some critics have thought that as *Shalem* or *Salem* signifies peace, safety, &c. in Hebrew, the original of this passage should be rendered thus: "And he came in peace and safety to the city of Shechem." (Anc. Un. Hist. vol. iii. p. 289. 8vo.) which would therefore be meant only of the *city* of Shechem, so called from the prince of that name, who is expressly said to have been more honourable than all the house of his father. Genesis xxxiv. 19.

‡ Gen. xxxiii. 18.

§ Ibid. xxxiv. 2.

ever, calls Shechem "a *city* of the Canaanites," and the inhabitants of it, Shechemites. * From these children of Hamor, the patriarch bought a parcel of a field here, where he had spread his tent, for an hundred pieces of money; and erected an altar, probably with a view to make it his permanent abode. † And indeed, this parcel of ground was held so sacred among his descendants, that the bones of Joseph, who died in Egypt, were brought up from thence to be buried here, and it became the inheritance of his children. ‡

It was after this apparent settlement among them, that Dinah, his daughter, went into the city, during the celebration of a festival among the Shechemites, to see the finery of the women of that country §, or as the Scriptures express it, "She went out to see the daughters of the land." ‖ This young Mesopotamian girl was, however, so much more beautiful or fascinating than those she had gone out to behold, that when Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, he took her, and lay with her, and defiled her. ¶ Nor was it seemingly the momentary gratification of sensual

* Ant. Jud. l. i. c. xxi. s. 1.
† Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20.
‡ Joshua, xxiv. 32.
§ Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 21. s. 1.
‖ Gen. xxxiv. 1.
¶ Gen. xxxiv. 2.

passion which allured him, for "his soul clave unto Dinah, and he loved the damsel, and spoke kindly unto * her." And when difficulties arose about his legal marriage with her, he replied, in all the vehemence of a young and ardent lover, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife."† The Scriptures say, that all the males of Shechem underwent circumcision to obviate the difficulties of an alliance with the family of Jacob; but Josephus omits the mention of this, though both authorities agree in the dreadful vengeance that was taken on them. This was no less than the slaughter of every male with the edge of the sword, by the two brothers of Dinah, Simeon and Levi, who could not, it seems, admit that the honour of their sister was redeemed by marriage, and who were as tenacious on the point of female purity as the Arabs of this same country continue to be to the present hour.

So great a destruction committed in a city by only two individuals, is differently accounted for by the different authorities already cited. Josephus, who mentions nothing of the circumcision of the males, says, "It being now the

* Genesis, xxxiv. 3. † Ibid. xxxiv 12.

time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males, as also the king, and his son with them, but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister." * The Scriptures say, that it was on the third day after the circumcision of all the males, and when they were yet sore from the wound, that this act of hardihood was undertaken. As in most of the cases of war and revenge in these early records, the mere slaughter of their enemies, however great and terrible it was, did not glut their vengeance, which was wreaked even on the helpless bodies of the dead, and on such of the unoffending wives and infants as remained among the living. "The sons of Jacob," says the inspired writer, after describing the slaughter itself, "came upon the *slain*, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister; they took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was in the field, and all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives took they captive, and spoiled even all that was in the house." † The authors of

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1. c. 21. s. 1.

† Genesis, xxxiv. 27—29.

the Universal History characterise this act of revenge as a treacherous and inhuman massacre of the inhabitants, on the part of Dinah's brothers; and say that Jacob reproved them for their barbarity; though they add, that the rest of the inhabitants of the country would, no doubt, have made them pay dearly for it, had not God interposed, and sent a panic-fear amongst them, insomuch that they even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered Shechemites. *

The most remarkable feature of this place was its situation between the two mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, or the mountain of blessing and the mountain of cursing. These hills were fixed on by Moses for the purpose of setting on them the blessings and the curses which he proposed to the children of Israel, after they should have entered the land of Canaan; and though he could never have seen the hills himself, as he did not live to enter the promised land, yet probably, from the information of his spies, he speaks precisely of their local position, "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign, over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh." †

* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iii. b. 1. c. 7. p. 289, 290. 8vo.

† Deut. xi. 30.

His successor, Joshua, having crossed the Jordan, and taken Jericho, went up, after first burning the city of Ai, and hanging its king on a tree, and built an altar unto the God of Israel, in Mount Ebal; placing the one half of the people here, and the other half on the opposite mountain of Gerizim, he read to them from this last all the words of the law, and pronounced the blessings and the cursings to all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, omitting not a word of all that Moses had commanded.* From this it would plainly appear, that these opposite hills were sufficiently near for the human voice to be distinctly heard from the summit of the one to the summit of the other. A more remarkable instance may be cited to prove, too, that though Josephus calls Gerizim "the *highest* of all the mountains that are in Samaria†," yet that the human voice could be heard from its summit even in the valley below. In the history of Abimelech, who, after the practice of all pretenders to power still in the same country, raised money with which he hired vain and light persons to follow him, and going into his father's house slew three-

* Joshua, viii. 28—35.

Shechem, with her suburbs in Mount Ephraim, was one of the cities of refuge for the slayer. Joshua, xxi. 21.

† Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 2.

score and ten of his own brethren, on one block, and so waded through the blood of his very kinsmen to royalty, it is said, the youngest of his brothers, Jotham, escaped by flight, and when all the men of Shechem were gathered together in the plain *, where they made Abimelech king, he went up and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice to address to those who were below; one of the earliest and most ingenious fables in holy writ. † These facts, therefore, set the proximity of the mountains beyond doubt, and limit their altitudes to a moderate standard.

As has been before described, in speaking of the destruction of Samaria, and the removal of the Samaritans from thence, these people made Shechem their chief abode, and Josephus mentions it as being their metropolis, and situate at Mount Gerizim, where they had a temple, at

* This word, which in Hebrew is *Alon*, is by some translated "an oak;" and the present version of our Scriptures calls it "The plain of the pillar that was in Shechem." There was an altar or pillar set up here by Abram, (Gen. xii. 7,) and another by Jacob, (Gen. xxxiii. 20.) There was also a celebrated oak at the same place, under which Jacob buried all the strange gods and the profane ornaments of his household, (Gen. xxxv. 4.) so that it might have been either of these three that remained; or even the great stone which Joshua set up there long afterwards, under this very oak and altar, before his death. (Joshua, xxiv. 26.)

† Judges, ix. 1—21.

the period at which Alexander the Great made his visit to Jerusalem.* It is chiefly known, afterwards, as the seat of these people, who looked upon the adjoining mountain of *Gerizim*, on which Moses had ordered the *blessings* to be pronounced, to be the most holy of mountains; and though Joshua is said to have set up the altar in *Ebal*, they hold that Moses himself had buried certain sacred vessels in Gerizim, though he never came westward of the Jordan. As late as the wars of Antiochus, and Hyrcanus the high priest, in Syria, it still retained the name; for in speaking of the acts of the latter, Josephus says "He took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim, and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple, which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem." †

In the time of Vespasian it was called Neapolis, or the new city, and it is reckoned among the colonies planted, or towns restored by him.‡ Pliny, in enumerating the cities of Palestine, mentions Shechem under the name of Neapolis, which he says was anciently called Mamortha,

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 11. c. 8. s. 6.
† Joseph. Wars of the Jews, b. 1. c. 2. s. 6.
‡ Anc. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 36.

or Maxbota.* And Josephus, in detailing the movements of Vespasian's army, in the Judean war, mentions his coming from Emmaus down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city by others called Neapolis, [or Shechem,] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Conea, where he pitched his camp.†

It continued to be known afterwards chiefly by this its Greek name; and indeed this is the only one by which it is called in all the histories of the Crusades and Saracen wars, and which it still retains, under the Arabic form of Nablous.‡

This town is seated between the two hills of Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, and so fully occupies the valley between them, that the mountains may be said to press it in on each side, and leave no room to add any thing to its breadth. Its length is not, however, so limited, as there is an extension of the valley to the east and west, which would admit of the buildings being continued in each of those di-

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 13.

† Joseph. Jewish Wars, b. iv. c. 8. s. 1.

‡ The Arabs having no P in their alphabet, constantly supply itsplace by the letter B, as in Nablous, (نابلوس) for Neapolis; Attarabulus, (اطرابلاس) for Tripolis; with Butrus, Boolus, and Butrak, (بطريق ،بولس ،بطرس) for Peter, Paul, and Patriarch; as well as Bāsha (باشا،) which the Turks and Persians who have the P in their alphabets, pronounce invariably Pashāw, (پاشا).

rections. The town consists chiefly of two long streets, running nearly east and west, through the centre of the valley described, and those again intersected by several smaller ones, mostly crossing them at right-angles. At the present time the town is populous and flourishing, and the grounds around it bear the marks of opulence and industry.

Within the town are six mosques, five baths, one Christian church of schismatic Greeks, an excellent covered bazar for fine goods, and an open one for provisions; besides numerous cotton-cloth manufactories, and shops of every description. One of the mosques is built within the precincts of a ruined church of St. Helena, the eastern front of which is still perfect. This presents a fine pointed arch, supported by Corinthian columns, and the upper part is highly ornamented, like some of the Saracen doors in Cairo. Within, are plain granite pillars, and the whole presents as singular a mixture of orders, and as grotesque a taste, as the ruin at Subussta.

The resident population of Nablous is thought to amount to ten thousand, though I should conceive it to be somewhat less. These are almost all Mohammedans; the few Greek Christians there scarcely amounting to fifty in number. The town is governed by a Mutesellim, or Beg,

as he is termed, subject to Damascus; and he has at present, about four hundred Amaout soldiers. The men dress partly in the Turkish and partly in the Arabian fashion; but their general appearance approaches nearer to the former. The women wear the whole face covered with a coloured veil, as in the towns of the Yemen; and the scarf thrown over their head and shoulders is of a yellowish white, with a deep red border; the stuff being, seemingly, a silk manufacture, or, at least, a mixture of that with cotton.

Though Nablous is a place of considerable trade with Damascus, and with the towns on the sea-coast, yet there were no Jews here who remained as permanent residents. As for the Samaritans, though a remnant of them existed so late as the time of Maundrell's journey, or about a century ago, there were not, as I was informed, half a dozen families remaining, and these were so obscurely known, and remained in such privacy, that many who had passed all their days in this town, did not know of the existence of such a sect. To so low a state are the people reduced, who once held this city as their metropolis, and who established here the chief seat of their religious as well as of their temporal power!

Though the name of *Samaritans* might, with

propriety, be applied to all the inhabitants of the country of Samaria, it is generally restricted to the sect, who before, and at the time of Christ's being on earth, were so obnoxious to the Jews on account of their difference of religion. The principal events in the history of these people have been already mentioned, in describing the changes which the city of Samaria or Sebaste had undergone. By the facts there stated, it will appear, that the origin of the Samaritans, properly so called, is to be assigned to that mixed multitude of people who were brought from Assyria to replace the tribes of Israel, that had been carried away captive by Shalmanezer; and who, though called by the general name of Cutheans *, were composed, as we learn from the sacred records, of Dinaites, Apharsathchites, Tarpelites, Apharsites, Archevites, Babylonians, Susanchites, Dehavites, Elamites, and other nations.†

As the Israelites who were carried away retained their old religion in their captivity, so these foreigners who replaced them adhered to

* They were called in Hebrew, Cuthim, from Cuthah, one of the provinces out of which they came. (Anc. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 185.) And Josephus says, that they were called in the Hebrew tongue Cutheans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. (Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.)

† Ezra, iv. 9.

the worship of their own countries; for the Scriptures say, "Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made."* And after enumerating these by name, and recapitulating the commands of God against such idolatry, the sacred writer adds, "Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner." † This was after the Lord had sent lions among them, who devoured them, because they knew not the manner of the God of the land, and after one of the captive priests had been sent back all the way from Assyria to save them from these devouring ‡ lions, by teaching them how to fear the Lord, and instructing them in the manner of which they were ignorant. § The result was a singular mixture of the monotheism of the Jews with the polytheism of their ancestors, however incompatible these two might seem; for the Scriptures add, "So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children, and their children's children; as did their fathers, so do they unto this day. ||

* 2 Kings, xvii. 29. † 2 Kings, xvii. 40.

‡ Josephus calls what is here interpreted lions, "a plague." (Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3.)

§ 2 Kings, xxiv. 26 to 28. || Ibid. xvii. 41.

After the return from the captivity of Babylon, when the children of Israel gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem, and restored their altars, and were about to rebuild their temple *, these Samaritans were still a distinct people, though it is thought from their own confession that they had abandoned their idolatry. Nevertheless, they are called "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," even when they solicited permission to build the temple with them; and though it might be true, as they asserted, that they had sought the God of the Israelites, and sacrificed unto him, since the days of Esarhaddon †, the king of Assur, who had brought them up out of their own lands, yet it is evident that they had mixed idolatry with their worship. It was still chiefly on this account, therefore, that the Jews replied to them, "Ye have nothing to do with us to build a house unto our God, but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord God of Israel, as King Cyrus, the king of Persia, hath commanded us.‡ Again, when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, who appear to have been numbered among

* Ezra, iii. 1, 2.

† The same with Shalmanezar, as he is called by Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4. s. 3.

‡ Ezra, iv. 3.

the Samaritans, derided the Jews' intentions to rebuild the wall of the city, Nehemiah replied to them, "The God of heaven, he will prosper us, therefore we his servants will arise and build; but ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial, in Jerusalem." * This timid restorer of the city seems to have been often alarmed, or "put in fear," as he expresses it, by the sneers † and letters ‡, and counsels §, and reports ‖, of these wordy opponents; so much so, that the work was carried on with the building materials in one hand, and a weapon in the other ¶, and no one, except for the purpose of religious ablutions, ever put off his clothes, even when they lay down to rest. ** Unnecessary as such precautions seemed against so feeble an enemy as these Samaritans, it proves at least how obnoxious they were to the Jews, and how firmly determined these last were to exclude them from all participation in their religious labour, or in their worship at Jerusalem.

Though the Samaritans continued thus distinct from the Jews, no mention is made of any temple among them common to all, either for the worship of the God of Israel, which they

* Nehemiah, ii. 20.
† Ibid. iv 2.
‡ Ibid. vi. 5.
§ Ibid. 9.
‖ Ibid. vi. 13.
¶ Ibid. iv. 1.
** Ibid. iv. 23.

sometimes professed, or of their own idols, of which they were accused, until about the period of Alexander's questionable visit to Jerusalem.*

The circumstance which then gave rise to their setting up a temple of their own, and separating themselves still more decidedly than before from the Jews, was not unlike that of our Eighth Harry's quarrel with the Pope, which led to the separation of our reformed church from that of Rome, and both shew how impatiently the yoke of forced marriages, or forced divorces, is likely to be borne, even when it is the holy hands of religion that would bind it fast. Manasseh, who was the brother of Jaddua the high-priest, and a partner with him in that office, was married to the daughter of a foreigner; and the jealous Jews thinking such a precedent might encourage others who were desirous of marrying strange wives to follow it, ordered him to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar; while the high-priest, joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, drove him away from the sanctuary. Manasseh, says the historian, then went to his father-in-law Sanballat, who, as we have seen, was one of the chief of the Samaritans, and told him that,

* See the arguments against this story, as cited by the authors of the Universal History, vol. viii. b. 1. c. 2. p. 534. 8vo.

although he loved his daughter Nicaso, he was not willing to be deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, which was the principal one of the nation, on her account. The father promised him, that if he would keep his daughter for his wife, he would not only preserve to him the honour he now held, but make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, and build a temple for him like that at Jerusalem, and advance him to the power and dignity of a high-priest, and all this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was satisfied with these splendid promises, and abandoned his former office, while many other of the priests and Levites, who were entangled in similar matches, followed his fortunes by coming over to Sanballat, who gave them money, land, and habitations, and divided estates among them, in order in every way, as the historian says, to gratify his son-in-law.*

Alexander the Great was about this time entering Syria, after his victories at the Granicus and Issus, and when he began the siege of Tyre, Sanballat renounced his allegiance to Darius, and led with him seven thousand of his own subjects to join the Macedonian army in the siege of that place. This was well received by Alexander, particularly after the Jews' refusal

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 2.

to grant him any aid; and when a convenient opportunity occurred for Sanballat to ask the Macedonian monarch to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, and constitute his son-in-law Manasseh the high-priest of it, it was no sooner demanded than granted. The temple was therefore built, and the priest ordained.* On the return of Alexander from Jerusalem, which was almost immediately after this, the Samaritans were settled at Gerizim, and had the city of Shechem, which lies at its foot, for their metropolis.†

These people were, from the beginning, remarkable for their indifference to their particular religion, and their character formed a striking contrast to that of the Jews, whose obstinate adherence to the rites of their fathers was the chief cause of all the persecutions that they suffered. It is true, that this character of instability is given to them by an enemy; but the proofs of it are too numerous to render it doubtful. "When they see the Jews in prosperity," says the Jewish historian, "they pretend, that they are changed and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 3. † Ibid. s. 6.

alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say, they are no way related to them; and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners that come from other countries."* Even immediately after Alexander had granted them permission to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, they petitioned him to remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because, like the Jews, they did not sow thereon; and when Alexander asked them, who they were that made such a petition, they admitted that they were Hebrews, in order to enforce their claim to exemption from tribute in this Sabbatic year†; yet called themselves Sidonians, living at Shechem,

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 3. A pretty accurate estimate may be formed of the character of this people, when it is known that all the vagabonds and outcasts of the Jews found refuge among them, and that they continued to the last to be as mixed a race as they were on their first coming from Assyria to replace the captives of Shalmanezer.

† The Jews were commanded not only to cease from all agricultural labours on this year, but to hold as forbidden the very reaping or gathering of that which grew wild, and of its own accord, (Levit. xxv. 1 to 7.) as well as to release all their purchased Hebrew slaves who might desire their freedom, (Exod. xxi. 2.) and to remit or release all debts owing from one Israelite to another (Deut. xv. 1.); so that the payment of tribute to a foreign power in such a year would have pressed hard on them indeed.

and not Jews, in order to avoid being included among these in other edicts.*

A still more remarkable instance of this subservience of their religion to their interest or convenience is recorded of them during the terrible persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, who converted the temple of Jerusalem into a temple of Jupiter Olympus, defiled its altars by the sacrifice of swine on them, and executed the most atrocious cruelties, even on the women and children of this unhappy nation. "When the Samaritans," says the historian, "saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, or that the temple on Mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown, and they now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians, and, inded, they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle, whose contents were these:—To King Antiochus, the god Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called Sabbath; and when they had erected a temple at the moun-

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8. s. 6.

tain called Gerizim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named 'the Temple of Jupiter Hellenicus.' If this were once done, we would be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupations with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee."* Their request was granted; and the temple, from being professedly reared to the God of Israel, was soon transformed into that of Jupiter Hellenicus, with the same facility as those of Venus and Adonis were subsequently dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and her Immaculate Son, in the same land.

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 5. s. 5.

When Hyrcanus, the Jewish high-priest, had completely shaken off the Syrian yoke, as before spoken of, he turned his arms against these Samaritans, and taking the metropolis of Shechem and their holy mountain of Gerizim, demolished this temple of the Hellenian Jupiter, although it had stood two hundred years, as well as all the edifices, altars, and other ornaments, that had been subsequently erected there by Jezebel, and put to death nearly the whole of the Samaritan priesthood.

As long as they continued thus divested of power, they were sufficiently harmless towards the Jews, but they seized with enthusiasm the first occasion of vengeance. It was on the eve of that very feast of the Passover, when Jesus, in his twelfth year, was found in the temple, astonishing the doctors with his early wisdom *, that a number of them having privately stolen into the temple, strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead men's bones, so that the priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity.†

The conference of Christ with the woman of Samaria, at Shechem or Sychar ‡, not many

* St. Luke, ii. 41—47.

† Anc. Un. Hist. v. x. p. 519.

‡ This was a name given to the city by the Jews, as a term of reproach, Sychar signifying *drunk* in Hebrew, according to

years after this, when he was grown to manhood, proves how complete the separation and even hatred still was between the Jews and the Samaritans. When he sat on the brink of Jacob's well, there to rest himself, as he was wearied with his journey from Judea towards Galilee, and asked this woman, who was drawing water at the well, to give him drink, she said unto him, "How is it that thou, being a Jew, asketh drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans?" Yet the result of this conference was the conversion of the woman, from his telling her that she had already had five husbands, and was now living with one, who was not her husband, in adultery: and many of the Samaritans of that city also believed in him, for the saying of the woman, which testified, "He told me all that ever I did."* After the death of Christ, two others of the Samaritans were converted by Philip, Peter, and John, about the time that Simon Magus was practising his sorceries among them, and to whom they attributed great power from God, because he had bewitched them with sorceries.†

the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious Jews, the *shicore Ephraim*, the drunkards of Ephraim. Isaiah, xxviii. 1. 3. See Anc. Un. Hist. v. ii. p. 463., and the Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 292.

* St. John, iv. 9—39. † Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9—11.

During the Roman wars in Judea, under Vespasian and his son Titus, there were still left a sufficient number of the original Samaritans to form a distinct people. It was just after the taking of Jotapata by Vespasian, and of Japha by Titus and Trajan, all three afterwards emperors of Rome, that the Samaritans assembled themselves on Mount Gerizim, as a post of defence. Their numbers are stated to have been eleven thousand six hundred; and the Roman general sent against them Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen. These did not deem it safe to go up upon the hill and give them battle, from the advantage which their enemies possessed in being on such commanding ground; but they encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with the army, and blockaded them there. It was in the middle of summer, and the Samaritans were destitute of water and other necessaries, so that many died from hunger, thirst, and violent heat; and others again, preferring slavery to a death of this kind, deserted to the Romans, while those that still held out, were of course much broken by their sufferings. Cerealis then ascended the hill with his soldiers, and, offering the security of his right hand, invited the Samaritans to surrender; but with an infatuation seemingly unprecedented

in their former history, they refused all overtures, and fought until every man among them was slain.

Though Jesus himself commenced the work among the Samaritans, by the conversion of the adulterous woman, and the Apostles had continued it by bringing over the followers of Simon Magus, and even that sorcerer himself, till he was cursed out of their society, for thinking that he could buy of them the power of giving the Holy Ghost to add to his other sorceries; yet, as we have seen in the case of their opposition to the Romans, the great body of the Samaritans still retained their former name, and all their former veneration for the holy mountain of Gerizim, on which they had made so obstinate a stand.

But neither the vengeance which Judas Maccabeus and Hyrcanus had taken of them for their heresies, and all the consequent opposition of the Jewish interest and power to which these religious differences led, nor this almost total annihilation of their race by the Romans as mere enemies of the state, were sufficient to fill up the measure of their sufferings. Five centuries after the Christian era, they had another enemy to sustain the attack of, and, as their numbers seem to have increased in the interval of comparative peace, their defence was more stubborn and of longer

duration, though equally unavailable with their former ones. Unprincipled as their own conduct seems on many occasions to have been, this last persecution was not apparently called forth by any obnoxious acts, either of treachery or opposition to the reigning power which inflicted it, and the doctrines which Jesus had preached among them would, least of all, lead them to expect, that while the cross was held out to them in one hand, the scourge should be shaken over them with the other. But such was the spirit of the times, that the very scenes in which the most humane, benevolent, and charitable doctrines were promulgated by the humblest of men, were transformed into theatres of blood and vengeance, by the pride, the cruelty, and unforgiving bigotry of his pretended imitators and most devoted disciples.

The historian who relates this event, says, "The Samaritans were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Gerizim, but the persecution of Justinian offered only the alternative of baptism or rebellion; they chose the latter. Under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the

temples of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed," adds the same historian, "that one hundred thousand subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war, which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate wilderness. But," he continues, "in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers, and he piously laboured to establish, with fire and sword, the unity of the Christian faith." *

Since that period, a remnant of them has, however, always been found rallied round what might be called the local standard of their religion, the Mountain of Gerizim.† In the year

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 47. p. 276. 8vo.

† In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Neapolis or Sichem, and describes it with great accuracy as seated in a valley between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, there were in this city about a hundred Cuthæi, (of whom there were two hundred at Cesarea) who did not observe the law of Moses, and were then, as well as now, called Samaritans. Their priests were of the race of Aaron, and they were called Aaronites. They offered sacrifice on Mount Gerizim, on the Paschal

1676, there was a correspondence between the chief priest of the Samaritans at Nablous, and the learned Scaliger, on the differences between the Hebrew and Samaritan pentateuch; and in the year 1697, Mr. Maundrell had a personal conference with the then residing dignitary; but I was assured by all those who knew of the existence of this people at Nablous, though these were very few, that their numbers were more reduced now than at any former period, and that, at most, there were not more than a dozen families composing their church; these, they said, never visited the summit of Mount Gerizim, but performed their religious rites in studied seclusion and obscurity, and were, if possible, more despised here than the Jews are in other Mohammedan cities.

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and other feasts, on an altar constructed of stones brought from the Jordan by the children of Israel. They called themselves of the tribe of Ephraim, and had custody of the sepulchre of Joseph the son of Jacob, whose bones were brought up out of Egypt, and buried in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for an hundred pieces of silver. Aaron was also buried in a hill here that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim, the name of all this range of the mountains of Nablous. (Josh. xxiv. 32, 33.) Their omission of certain letters in writing the names of the patriarchs, and their substitution of others in their places, was assumed by Benjamin as sufficient proof of their not being of the true seed of Israel. He describes their customs, purifications, &c. at large. Bergeron's Collection.

These Jews, of whom there are none resident here*, accuse the Samaritans of believing the Godhead to be a corporeal being. Epiphanius, who numbers them in his catalogue of heretics, insists that they worshipped the traphim or idols, which Rachel had stolen from her father Laban, and which they digged up from under the oak in Shechem, where Jacob had buried them.† And other Jews, again, give out that their religion consists in the adoration of a calf‡; but, say the commentators, "Credat Judæus."

The account which they themselves give of their own origin, is that they are descended from Joseph by Ephraim; that their temple on Mount Gerizim was built by Joshua, after his taking possession of the promised land; and that they have preserved their genealogy, in uninterrupted succession, from Ruz, of the seed of Aaron, who was their first high-priest, down to the present time. Of the first captivity of the Israelites, they say that the kings of Jerusalem and Syria having revolted against Nebuchadnezzar, he

* As Nablous is a place of great trade, (and commerce seldom fails to draw these scattered sons of Israel together,) it is not improbable but that some religious prejudice may keep them from residing here; but, from not meeting with any Jews in the place, I could not ascertain this from any authority to be relied upon.

† Genesis, xxxv. 4.

‡ Maundrell's Journey, p. 80. 8vo.

came and took Jerusalem, and went from thence to the Shechemites, whom he ordered to leave that country in seven days, on pain of being massacred, which they did accordingly. The strangers whom he settled in Judea and Shechem in their stead, could not live there, because the fairest fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poison, so that at last the Hebrews were sent back to their own pestilential land again. These are the *devouring lions* of the Scriptures, and the *plague* of Josephus, before mentioned; and the sending back a priest of Israel to restore the worship of the true God. On the return of the captives, say the Samaritans, a dispute arose, whether they should rebuild the temple of Jerusalem or that of Gerizim. Zerubbabel was for the former, and Sanballat for the latter, and each pleaded the sanction of the pentateuch; but as their copies even then differed, one of them fixing on Jerusalem as the site, and the other on Gerizim, each insisted that the copy of his antagonist was corrupted, and his own pure, as still continues to be mutually done by the doctors of the three great sects among whom the writings of Moses are divided. To end the dispute, these champions of truth bethought themselves of an expedient, and agreed that the copy which should withstand the fiery trial should be admitted to be the authentic one. Accordingly

Zerubbabel flung his own into the fire; and, sacred as the materials were, they were instantly consumed. Sanballat followed the example, but the word of the Lord God of Israel being imperishable, it came three times out of the flames untouched by fire.* Such a miracle was of course enough to confirm those who were convinced before in the propriety of their choice; yet it had no effect on those who were before of a contrary opinion. But when "the eyes are blinded that they shall not see, and the heart is hardened that it shall not believe, what power can open the one or soften the other?"

It is clear, from the many instances already cited, that the hatred of these two sects to each other was quite mutual. Even Jesus reproached them with worshipping they knew not what; and he is thought to have *excluded* them from salvation, when he told them that *this* was of the Jews.† The Jews, in their turn, when they wished to express their greatest abhorrence of Christ, replied to his reproaches, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?"‡ His disciples themselves could not contain their indignation against them, when they refused to receive their Master, because his

* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x, p. 228. † St. John, iv. 22.
‡ St. John, viii. 48.

face was as though he would go up to Jerusalem, but angrily exclaimed, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?" * And though Jesus then rebuked them, by telling them that he was not come down to destroy men's lives, but to save them; yet when he sent his disciples forth to preach to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he expressly commands them, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not." †

The summary of their opinions, as collected from the pentateuch, and from the correspondence of their chief priest with Scaliger, before adverted to, is given under the following heads: — They believe in one God, and in the laws of his servant Moses, which they profess to adhere more scrupulously to the observance of than the Jews do; they circumcise their male children invariably on the eighth day; they confine themselves to one wife, and never marry so near in kindred as is common among the Jews; they are rigid in the observance of certain ablutions; they keep the sabbath with all the rigour of a penance; they light no fires in the houses on that day, nor quit their dwellings but to visit the place of worship: the passover is with them the

* St. Luke, ix. 54. † St. Matthew, x. 5.

thought to have mentioned the Greek copy, since they are conjectured to have been incapable of understanding either the original Hebrew, or the vulgar version of it.

The learned Scaliger was the first who set about enquiring after this work, by the correspondence already mentioned; and the munificence of Archbishop Usher soon procured several copies of it from Syria and Palestine, the most accurate of which has been printed in the Polyglot of Walton, where it may serve to gratify the curiosity of antiquaries; but, in the language of the Scriptures, "adds not a jot or a tittle to the law or the prophets."

In enquiring for the Bir-el-Yakoab, or Jacob's Well, we were told by every body that this was in the town, which not corresponding with the described place of the well we were desirous of seeing, led to further explanation; and at length, by telling the story attached to it, we found it was known here only by the name of "Ber Samareea," or the well of Samaria.

Procuring a Christian boy to accompany us, we went out by the eastern gate, and passing through a continuation of the same valley in which Nablous stands, thickly covered with olive-trees, we reached the end of it in about a quarter of an hour, on foot, the pass opening into a round and more extensive vale, and the mountains east

of the Jordan being in sight. On the right were some Mohammedan buildings on the sides and at the foot of Mount Gerizim, either mosques or tombs, now called Mahmoodeea, and said to stand over Joseph's sepulchre. On the left, at the foot of Mont Ebal, were several well-hewn grottoes in the rock; some with arched and others with square doors, most probably ancient sepulchres, without the old city of Sychem or Sychar. These grottoes were called here Khallat Rowgh-ban *, but we had no time to examine them.

From hence, in another quarter of an hour, we reached the Well of Samaria. It stands at the commencement of the round vale, which is thought to have been the parcel of ground bought by Jacob for a hundred pieces of money, and which, like the narrow valley west of Nablous, is rich and fertile. Over this well stood anciently a large building, erected by St. Helena, of which there are now no other remains than some shafts of granite pillars; all the rest lying in one undistinguished heap of ruins. The mouth of the

* Rowghwan or Rowghban is a name given in Syria to monks, and more particularly to those who live in convents and other dwellings, remote from towns, and from society; and though Kallah means generally a castle, yet here it would imply only "the retreats of hermits," a purpose to which these caves were very probably at one time or other applied.

well itself had an arched or vaulted building over it, and the only passage down to it at this moment is by a small hole in the roof, scarcely large enough for a moderate-sized person to work himself down through.

We lighted a taper here, and taking off my large Turkish clothes, I did not then get down without bruising myself against the sides, nor was I at all rewarded for such an inconvenience by the sight below. Landing on a heap of dirt and rubbish, we saw a large flat oblong stone, which lay almost on its edge across the mouth of the well, and left barely space enough to see that there was an opening below. We could not ascertain its diameter, but by the time of a stone's descent, it was evident that it was of considerable depth, as well as that it was perfectly dry at this season; the fall of the stone giving forth a dead and hard sound.

Not far from the well of Samaria is the "Bir Yusef," over which is a modern building; and it is said to be, even at this day, frequented for water from Nablous. The well of Samaria might also have been so, therefore, from Sychar, although that city should not have extended farther east than the present town; and indeed it is no uncommon thing in Syria, as I myself have often witnessed, for water to be brought from a much greater distance. It is highly pro-

bable, therefore, that this is the identical well at which the interesting conference of Jesus with the woman of Samaria really happened.

I could find nothing of the old wall mentioned by Maundrell, and as the sepulchres of Khallat Rowgh-ban are much nearer the town than the well, though they must have been without the city from the nature of the cliffs there, the wall did not probably extend more easterly than the site of the present town. Near the well of Samaria, and at the end of the narrow valley, or where it opens into the broader plain, are several round towers on the hills on each side, of an unknown date, probably watch-posts to guard this passage to the city.

One of the chief differences between the Jewish and the Samaritan pentateuch being the transposition of the names of Gerizim and Ebal, I had taken particular notice of these two mountains, or rather hills, both in going out and coming in. But it unfortunately happens, that neither relative positions nor local features are given of these in the sacred records, by which the point at issue might be decided. Josephus, however, is more explicit; for in his version of that command of Moses which has given rise to the dispute in question, he says, "Their leader ordered that, when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had de-

troyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizim situate on the *right* hand, and that called Ebal on the *left*; which, with reference to the sun-rising, fixes the former indisputably on the *south*, and the latter on the *north*. *

In the commands of Moses, delivered to the Israelites while yet on the other side of Jordan eastward, he expressly names Gerizim as the mountain from which the *blessings* are to be pronounced on the congregation, and Ebal as the one from which the *curses* are to be uttered†; yet, in a subsequent chapter, the same lawgiver is made to order that an altar of unhewn stones, over which no iron was to pass, should be raised to the Lord, and the great stones set up plastered with plaster, on which the law was to be written; and those reared on Mount *Ebal*, which had before been made the mountain of *cursing*. ‡ Joshua, his successor, is afterwards represented as setting up the altar on *Ebal*, and offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings to the Lord, and inscribing on the plastered stones, as directed, the law which Moses had left to the children of Israel. §

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. iv. c. 8. s. 44. † Deut. xi. 29.
‡ Deut. xxvii. 1—4. § Joshua, viii. 30—32.

The Samaritans have, in these places, substituted *Gerizim* for *Ebal*, and they accuse the Jews of having maliciously altered *their* text, out of odium to the Samaritans, putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, upon no other account but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. Such was the account of the chief priest of these people to Mr. Maundrell, who questioned him on the subject. To confirm this, says the same traveller, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of *cursing*, as we have seen before, and in its own nature an *unpleasant* place; but, on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of *blessing* by God's own appointment, and also in itself *fertile* and *delightful*; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain appointed for these religious festivals, and not, as the Jews have corruptly written it, *Hebal*.*

Mr. Maundrell thought that there was some truth in the Samaritan priest's observations on the superiority of Gerizim to Ebal; for, says he, though neither of the mountains has much

* Maundrell's Journey, p. 81. 8vo.

to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet, as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a more fruitful aspect than Ebal. My own impression, from seeing both these hills from several points of view, was, that Gerizim was by far the more agreeable, and might be made the more productive of the two, not only from its principal side, or that hanging over Nablous, having a northern aspect, and being therefore less burnt up by the sun in summer, but from its slope of ascent being less abrupt than that of Ebal, and from the soil being therefore more liable to accumulate, and less subject to be washed down by the vernal and autumnal rains.* Their altitudes appeared to be nearly equal, and neither of them exceeded seven or eight hundred feet from the level of the valley, though much higher from the sea, as the whole country here is elevated. We had not an opportunity of ascending either of the hills ourselves; but from all the information I could collect regarding them, no one knew of any great stones or other vestiges of buildings remaining on them, though it must be confessed

* When Benjamin of Tudela visited this spot, he says that Mount *Garizim* was full of fountains and gardens; while *Ghebal*, as he writes it, was arid and rocky.—Bergeron's Collection.

that we met with only two persons out of at least fifty whom we consulted, that had ever been on the summit of both these hills; and to these the subject, as well as the motive of our enquiry, was alike strange and unaccountable.

CHAP. XXX.

RETURN FROM NABLOUS TO NAZARETH.

The call to afternoon prayers was heard as we re-entered Nablous, and as there was no time to be lost, we mounted and set out on our way back to Sanhoor. We now went out at a northern gate in the side of the town, and ascending a hill there, to go by a shorter road, we had a commanding view of the city, and of the valley in which it stands, from the heights above. Nothing could be more interesting than this sight; the lofty hills of Ebal and Gerizim approaching close to each other; the beautifully fertile valley at their feet, covered with olive-woods, and corn-fields of the freshest green, and the white mass of flat-roofed dwellings and tall minarehs, which the busy town offered in contrast to the rest of the scene, formed altogether a new and charming picture.

When we lost sight of the town, the remainder of our way was over rude and barren hills, almost constantly ascending and descending; and as it was altogether an unpractised road, we

neither saw a human habitation, nor a single living being, till we came out at the village of Jubbagh, near to Sanhoor. It was now already sunset; but spurring our horses across the rest of the way on plain ground, we arrived in time for supper, which had been retarded for us by our kind host, from the moment that advice had been given him of our being seen from the Castle-gate, galloping towards the fort with all speed across the valley.

Nothing could exceed the welcome with which we were received on our return; and there appeared to be as much sincerity as warmth in the gladness of the chief and of his dependants. We supped together on several excellent dishes, and when we had finished, all the rest partook in their turns, as is usual among them. Our conversation was as interesting as that of the preceding evening; and I only regretted, as I had done a thousand times before, the impossibility of remembering all the new and curious observations which occur in interviews and parties of this kind.

My disappointment in not finding the caravan, and the best route of proceeding to the northward, were also talked of; and Hadjee Ahmed pressed me, by the kindest invitation, to remain with him for the next month, until the Damascus caravan should again depart from Nablous,

APPROACH TO THE CASTLE OF SANHOOR.

assuring me, at the same time, that nothing in his power should be wanting to make my stay agreeable. I told him how sensible I felt of so much generosity, and said, what I really thought at the moment, that I knew of no suitable return which it would ever be in my power to make for it; when he replied, that, besides the satisfaction of doing good, in entertaining the stranger who is distant from his home, his country, and his friends, the curious facts which my knowledge of other people and of other lands had made me acquainted with, would always make my conversation interesting, and cause me to be as agreeable as I should be a welcome guest.

If I could have followed my own inclination, I would certainly have remained here for a few days at least; but I considered my duty to call me to fresh exertions, and determined therefore to return to Nazareth, to make new enquiries. When this determination was communicated to my host, he did all he could to combat it, and it was matter of so prolonged a dispute, that it was past midnight before our party broke up, when I retired to the excellent bed I had before slept in, and was attended by the hasnader or treasurer of the pilgrim chief in person.

As I could not with delicacy make any direct enquiries respecting Sanhoor, and as I had no

opportunity of seeing it but from without, excepting only the small portion which we passed through in our way from the gate to the house, I knew little more of it than its outline features. It is a walled town, seated on a hill, the ascent of which is steep on all sides; and it commands the view of a fine broad valley or plain to the northward, and of a narrower one to the southward of it, both of which are cultivated. The walls of Sanhoor are strongly built, and are apparently of old Saracenic work. There are two gates of entrance, in opposite quarters of the town; but the whole circuit of the walls is less than half a mile. The houses within are thickly placed, and well built; the streets are narrow; the population is abundant for the size of the place, and the whole of the inhabitants are Mohammedans. Hadjee Ahmed Jerar, the chief, is tributary to Damascus, but is still an absolute lord within his own domain, as there are no military or other agents of the superior government ever stationed throughout his territory. His establishment is quite a feodal one, and he has several other towns and villages, besides extensive lands around them, attached to his service and governed by his will. But notwithstanding that his power is absolute, his moderate use of it renders his government mild; and his dependants seemingly all rejoiced in the superi-

ority of their privileges and their happiness. Every thing that I saw myself within the benign influence of this man's paternal government, wore an appearance of industry, security, abundance, health, and satisfaction; and furnished the most striking contrast that could be witnessed to the aspect of Turkish and Arabian settlements in general.

18th. As our way was thought to be only a short day's journey to Nazareth, we were not suffered to depart without taking an early meal, which Hadjee Ahmed had ordered to be prepared on the preceding evening, and of which he himself partook with us.

On setting out, he said he could hardly wish that I should be driven from Nazareth back to Sanhoor again, in search of a caravan for Damascus, as he hoped, for my sake, that I should find one direct from thence; but he made me promise, if ever I should again come into Syria or Palestine, either on my return from India, or at any subsequent period, that I would come and stay within his castle for a month at least.

Leaving Sanhoor at eight o'clock, we passed for half an hour over a small, but well-cultivated plain, to the northward of the town. From the northern edge of this we went for about an hour and a half over stony ground, when we reached Cabaat. This village, which we had before

passed after it was dark, on our way hither from Jeneen, contains from fifty to eighty dwellings, and is altogether peopled by Mohammedans.

To go by what our guide thought a shorter route, we kept to the westward, leaving Jeneen on our right; and in about two hours more, over uneven and generally barren ground, we came to the village of Birreheen. This is seated on the brow of a hill, and contains from forty to fifty dwellings; and just opposite to it, on the west, distant about a mile, is another village of the same size, called Cufr-Cudt.

Below this, we turned to the north-east, through a narrow pass, in which a deep well was sunk down in the rock at the foot of an overhanging cliff. Pursuing our way from hence, we came out at noon upon the Great Plain of Esdraelon, having Jeneen in sight about two miles to the eastward of us.

Going nearly in a northern direction over the plain, we came at two o'clock to Makheably, passing close to its western edge, where we observed the scattered fragments of buildings, pottery, sarcophagi, and other proofs of former consequence.

The rest of our way back was precisely that by which we had come from Nazareth. In the course of it we observed, that what is called the Great Plain of Esdraelon, taking the hills we

had quitted to be its southern boundary, and the range on which Nazareth stands to be its northern limit, is not strictly a plain, in the sense in which we generally understand the word, but consists of a series of elevations and depressions, some of which are very considerable. It is in contrast to the more rugged parts of the hill-country only that it can be called so, or from the circumstance of those ridges in it not interrupting the general surface of corn-land to which it is mostly appropriated, since all the elevated parts are cultivable even to their summits.

The Hermon of this place, as compared with Tabor, is a small range of hills standing nearly in the middle of the Great Plain, and isolated on all sides round. But this is not the principal Hermon of the Scriptures, as invoked in the writings of Solomon and David, as will be shown in its proper place, though this range here opposite to Tabor is always pointed out by the guardians of the holy places as the only mountain so called.

The length of the Great Plain of Esdraelon, within the limits prescribed to it on the east and west by geographers and travellers, is estimated at about eight hours' journey, or at least thirty miles. Its breadth from north to south, in the way we came over it, is about five hours travel,

or nearly twenty miles; as we entered it at noon, and reached the foot of the Mountain of the Precipitation exactly at sunset, having halted only to water our horses at the wells of Fooli in the way. Nearly the whole extent of this land now lies waste, though its fine soil is every where capable of cultivation.

We reached the Convent of Nazareth at seven o'clock, and were received with surprise at the cause of our return from Nablous; but we found as hearty a welcome among the friars there as before.

THE END.

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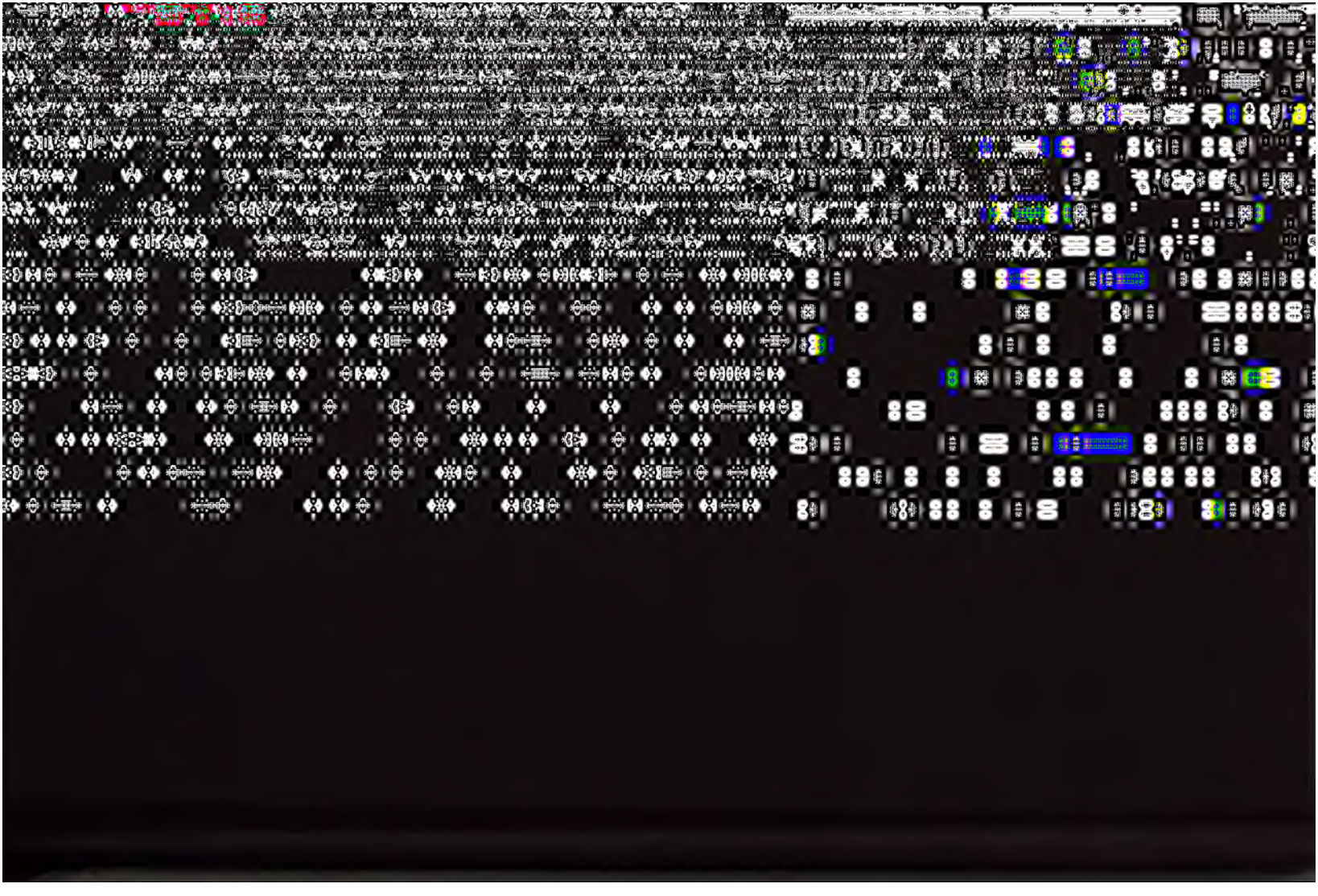
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